

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LII.

1871.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—

MILTON.

Calcutta :

THOMAS S. SMITH, 12 BENTINCK STREET.

London :

TRUBNER & CO., 8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER ROW,
AND TO BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.

AP⁸
C²

CAUCASIA REVIEW.

VOLUME III.

126362
1808

THE CAUCASIA REVIEW, A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART, PUBLISHED BY THE CAUCASIA REVIEW SOCIETY, 1808.



PRINTED BY J. B. BARNES, AT THE CAUCASIA REVIEW OFFICE, 1808.

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CIII.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

ART. I.—INDIA AND THE WAR ... 1

II.—MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE IN INDIA.

A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India, including the outline of a history of crime against the person in India. By Norman Chevers, M.D., Surgeon-Major, H. M. Bengal Army; Principal of the Calcutta Medical College, Professor of Medicine, and Senior Physician in the College Hospital; President of the Bengal Social Science Association. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., Publishers to the University. 1870 ... 22

III.—THE PROBLEM OF CIVILIZATION IN INDIA ... 55

IV.—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

PART II.

De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera. Joannes de Laët. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana. Anno 1631.

CAP. 1.—Indiæ sive Imperii Magni Mogolis Topographica Descriptio ... 67

V.—BRAHMISM—ITS HISTORY AND LITERATURE.—

1. Selections from several books of the Vaidanta, translated from the Original Sanscrita. By Rajah Rammohun Roy. Calcutta: Printed for the Tuttobodheney Sobha, at the Tuttobodheney Press. 1844.

2. A Brief Survey of the Calcutta "Brahma Sumaj," from January 1830, the date of its foundation, to December 1867. Calcutta: Printed by G. P. Roy & Co., 67, Emambaree Lane, Bentinck Street. 1868.

3. A defence of Brahmoism and the Brahmo Samaj: Being a Lecture delivered at the Midnapore Samaj Hall, on the 21st June 1863. Midnapore. 1863.

4.	A compilation of Theistic Texts from the Hindu, Jewish, Christian, Mahomedan and Parsee Scriptures. Calcutta : Printed at the Kábya Prakash and Oriental Press. Sakábda. 1788.	
5.	Atonement and Salvation—Revelation—Testimonies to the validity of Intuitions. Parts I & II. Printed at the Calcutta Brahmo Somaj Press.	
6.	The Religious Prospects of India : A Discourse read before the Society of Theistic Friends, in March, 1864, Calcutta : Printed at the Brahmo Somaj Press. Jorasanko, 1864.	
7.	Jesus Christ—Europe and Asia : Being the substance of a Lecture delivered extempore in the Theatre of the Calcutta Medical College, on Saturday, 5th May, 1866. Calcutta : J. N. Ghose & Co., Oriental Press. 1866.	
8.	Great Men : Being the substance of a Lecture delivered extempore at the Town Hall, on the 28th September 1866.	
9.	The Indian Mirror.	
10.	The Dhurma Tattwa. Published at the Indian Mirror Press. Calcutta	102
ART. VI.—	BENGAL IN 1870	128
” VII.—	PERSIAN POETRY ; WITH SOME TRANSLATIONS FROM HAFIZ	146
	Sonnets on the War.	169

CRITICAL NOTICES—

Indian Snakes.—An elementary treatise on Ophiology, with a descriptive catalogue of the snakes found in India and the adjoining countries. By Edward Nicholson, Assistant Surgeon, Royal Artillery. Madras ; Higginbotham & Co. 1870... ..	i.
A Shakespearian Grammar.—An attempt to illustrate some of the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English. For the use of Schools. By E. A. Abbott, M.A., Head Master of the City of London School, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Revised and enlarged Edition. London : Macmillan & Co. 1870	vi.
Geography of India, comprising a descriptive outline of all India, and a detailed Geographical, Commercial, Social and Political account of each of its Divisions, with Historical Notes. By George Duncan. Fifth Edition (corrected to the latest date). Madras ; Higginbotham & Co. 1870	viii.

- Thoughts on the War and on European Policy. By a Posi-
tivist. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870 ... x
- Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism exposed
and explained. By Thomas Inman, M.D., (London,)
Physician to the Royal Infirmary, Liverpool, &c. &c. &c.
Printed for the Author. 1869 ... xv.
- A Handbook of Hindu Mythology and Philosophy, with
some Biographical Notices. By Rev. W. Munro Taylor.
Second Edition. Madras : Higginbotham & Co. 1870 xvii.
- Indian Ballads and other Poems : By William Waterfield.
London : Smith Elder & Co. 1868 ... xviii.
- The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India. Edited
by Charles Grant, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Com-
missioner of the Central Provinces. Second Edition.
Nágpur. 1870 ... xxiv.
- Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore. By Kissory Chand Mit-
tra. Originally read at the 27th Hare Anniversary Meet-
ing, held at the Town Hall on the 1st June 1870. Revis-
ed and Enlarged. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870. xxvii.
-

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CIV.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—THE DUKE OF ARGYLL ON THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL.	
Supplement to the <i>Calcutta Gazette</i> for the 20th July 1870. Papers connected with the Educational Cess in Bengal	171
IN MEMORIAM	204
„ II.—CHRISTIANITY AND THE BRAHMA SAMAJ.	
The Brahma Samaj. Four Lectures by Keshub Chunder Sen ; with preface by Sophia Collet. London. 1870.	
An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent. By J. H. Newman, D.D., of the Oratory.	
A Plea for Indian Missions. By Alexander Forbes, Esq., late Editor of the <i>Bengal Hurkaru</i> . 1865 ...	205
„ III.—LAND IMPROVEMENT IN THE NORTH-WEST.	
An Act to authorize the advance of public money to promote the improvement of land in Great Britain and Ireland by works of drainage. 1846. (9 and 10 Vict., c. 101).	
An Act to facilitate the drainage of lands in England and Wales. 1847. (10 and 11 Vict., c. 38).	
An Act to promote the advance of private money for drainage of lands in Great Britain and Ireland. 1849. (12 and 13 Vict., c. 100.)	
The Land Drainage Act, Ireland. 1863.	
The Drainage and Improvement of Land Act. 1863.	
The Improvement of Land Act. 1864.	
The <i>Gazette of India</i> , July 9th, 1870, and 7th January 1871.	
Directions to Revenue Officers, N.W.P.	217
„ IV.—BUDDHAGHOSHA'S PARABLES.	
Buddhaghosha's Parables, translated from Burmese by Captain T. Rogers, R.E. With an Introduction, containing Buddha's Dhammapada, or "Path of Virtue," translated from Pāli by F. Max Müller, M.A. London ; Trübner and Co. 1870.	227

ART. V.—COWELL'S TAGORE LAW LECTURES—THE HINDU FAMILY.

- The Hindu Law : Being a Treatise on the law administered exclusively to Hindus by the British Courts in India. By Herbert Cowell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Tagore Law Professor. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870 ... 243

„ VI.—METEOROLOGY IN INDIA.

- Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1864.
Reports of the Meteorological Reporter for the North-Western Provinces, 1863-1869.
Reports of the Meteorological Reporter for the Punjab, 1866-68.
Reports of the Meteorological Reporter for Bengal, 1867-69. ... 270

„ VII.—BENGALI LITERATURE.

- Lives of the Bengali Poets. By Hari Mohan Mukerjya. Calcutta : New Sanskrit Press. 1869
Mitra Prakas. No. 1. Dacca : 1870 ... 294

„ VIII.—A CHAPTER FROM MUHAMMADAN HISTORY.

- THE HINDU RAJAS UNDER THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT ... 317

„ IX.—THE BUDGET.

- Supplement to the *Gazette of India*, March 1871 ... 340

CRITICAL NOTICES—

- “The Land of Charity”—A descriptive account of Travancore and its people, with especial reference to Missionary Labour. By the Rev. Samuel Mateer, F.L.S., of the London Missionary Society. London : John Snow & Co. 1871 ... xxxi

- La Langue et la Litterature Hindoustanies en 1870.—“Revue Annuelle” par M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut de France, Professeur a l'Ecole Spéciale des Langues Orientales vivantes, etc. Paris. 1871 ... xxxvi

- The Ancient Geography of India.—The Buddhist Period, including the campaigns of Alexander and the travels of Hwen-Thsang. By Alexander Cunningham, Major General, Royal Engineers. With thirteen Maps. London : Trübner and Co. 1871 ... xxxviii

- A Student's Manual of the History of India, from the earliest period to the present. By Meadows Taylor, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., M.R.I.A., &c. Author of the “Confessions of a Thug,” “Tara,” etc. etc. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1870 ... xli

- Hints towards a reconstruction of the Educational Department, N.W.P. Reprinted, with additions, from the “Pioneer” of August 1870 ... xliii

- A Brief View of Positivism. Compiled from the works of Auguste Comte, by S. Lobb, M.A. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink and Co. 1871 ... vxi

BENGALI BOOKS—

- Krishidarpan. Part II. By Hari Mohan Mukhopadhyay
Calcutta : Hitaishi Press. B.E. 1277 ... xlv
- Sakti Sambhava. An epic poem. By Behari Lal Bandyopadhyay. Calcutta : Hitaishi Press. B.E. 1277
- Svabháva-Sikshá. Instructions from Nature. Part I. By Chandra Nath Sarmá. Serampore : Tamahar Press. 1870 ... xlvii
- Satranja-Sukhságar. Part I. By Brahmánanda Chattopadhyay. Calcutta : Vidyaratna Press. 1871.
- Padyamálá. Part I. By Man Mohan Basu. Calcutta : Stanhope Press. 1870.
- Hitasiksha, or Useful Instructions. Part IV. By Gopal Chandra Bandyopadhyay. Head Master, Calcutta Normal School. Calcutta : Hitaishi Press. B.E. 1276.
- Parvati-Parinay. A Drama. By Giris Chandra Churamani. Calcutta : Sanskrit Press. 1277.
- Kavi Kalpa. Part I. By Harinath Majumdar. Calcutta : Giris-Vidyaratna Press. B. E. 1277.
- Kavitábali. By Hem Chandra Bandyopadhyay. Calcutta : Stanhope Press. B. E. 1277 ... xlviii
- Utkarsha-vidhána. By Giris Chandra Vidyaratna. Calcutta : Giris Vidyaratna Press. B. E. 1277.
- Kumára Sikshá. By Becharam Chattopadhyay. Bhowanipore ; Sáptáhika Press. Sakábdá. 1792.
- Rájábála. By Raj Krishna Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta : J. G. Chatterjea & Co's Press. B.E. 1277.
- Abhedi. By Tekchánd Thákur. First Edition. Calcutta : Sucharu Press. 1871.
- Kávyá Chandrika. By Isán Chandra Vidyávágis. Berhampore : Satyaratna Press. Samvat 1930 ... xlix
- Sáktiséla. Part I. By Yasódananda Sarkár. Calcutta : B. P. M's Press. B.E. 1277.
- Srigovindamangal. By Syám Das Dás. Calcutta : N. L. Seal's Press. Sakábdá 1792.
- Bharatabarshiya Upásaka-sampradáy. The religious sects of the Hindus. By Akshay Kumar Datta. Part I. Calcutta : Sanskrit Press. B.E. 1277 ... 1

S
sa
F
of
li
se
an
b
th
ro
na
p
of
th
fo
h
m
n
h
in
l
sp
tu
C
w
sy
ta
a
m
w
e

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

Nº CIII.

ART. I.—INDIA AND THE WAR.

S*I vis pacem, para bellum.* Now that wars are short, sharp, and decisive, this maxim acquires new force. The generation which saw Austria struck down in six weeks, and the main army of France swept off as prisoners of war, or cooped up without hope of escape in just one month after the opening of hostilities, is not likely to pardon any manifest unreadiness for war. Austria has sedulously devoted herself, since Sadowa, to the task of reorganizing and re-arming her forces. Russia only the other day established, by an imperial *ukase*, the Prussian system of enlistment throughout the dominions of the Czar. France will come out of the contest robbed of many illusions, and bent on the performance of the national duty of remodelling her military forces. Her national pride, her traditions, her genius, have all been outraged by a series of disasters unexampled in the history of war, whether we regard their individual proportions, or the swiftness with which they have followed each other. England, too, has been driven to admit that her insularity can no longer justify her in neglecting to turn the martial spirit of her people to proper account for the maintenance of her position amongst the nations. The war found her, had her interests demanded her co-operation with France, in a position to take the field with barely 60,000 men and 180 guns. And even this force could not have been moved so speedily as the 400,000 men with which Prussia invaded France, twenty days after the announcement of M. Ollivier to the French Chambers that war had been declared. To inferiority of numbers would have been added the inefficiency of the English military system, when judged by the requirements of the day. The spectacle afforded by the collapse of a military organization regarded as an exemplar by English officers, and which professed to have modified tactics to suit the altered circumstances of battle-fields on which the newest arms of precision would be used, had its natural effect on the people and government of England. The press, never

slow to appreciate the necessity for change in the direction of improvement, opened its columns to an earnest criticism of the national forces. The Government, too, awoke to a sudden conviction that though no branch of the administration afforded such facilities for effecting a saving as the departments subordinate to the War Office, those facilities had been perhaps somewhat rashly availed of. No doubt the fact of England's insularity would give her a certain time for preparation, but it might not improbably happen that her preparations would be completed too late, especially if she were engaged in joint hostilities with a continental power. Mr. Cardwell therefore on behalf of the Government of which he is a member, has promised to bring forward a scheme which shall render it possible for England to utilize the strength of the 400,000 men, regulars, militia, reserves and volunteers, she has under arms; not as a composite mass of varying efficiency, but as a single organism, the component parts of which shall be of nearly equal value to a general. To accomplish such an end, however, it is admitted that the present system of recruitment must give place to a method of filling the ranks which shall give the nation a more complete command of the services of its citizens. But any change in the system of recruitment involves a radical alteration of the terms of service, and though Count Von Moltke may declare that the period of service under the flag ought to be long enough to make the soldierly knack of sticking together under the most adverse circumstances the habit of the men's lives, still in a manufacturing country like England, where the demand on time is so urgent, it is not improbable that the period of service in the first line will be cut down to the shortest possible length.

Whatever affects the military system of England is of vital importance to India. If the time of service of the English soldier be reduced to three years, India must either largely reduce the strength of her garrison, to enable her to meet the additional transport charge consequent on more frequent reliefs, return to a local army, or, which is almost the same thing, the Indian garrison must be kept up by men volunteering for ten years' continuous service, to be followed by a direct transfer to what a German would call the *Landsturm*. The necessity of England calls for a national army in the Prussian sense; the necessity of India calls for soldiers engaged for long service, and is therefore opposed to the requirements of the mother-country.

Ever since Stein and Scharnhorst organized Prussia against the domination of France under Napoleon I, the idea of a national force representing the manhood of a country has been growing up in the different states of Europe. Napoleon III, by the law of February 1868, sought to introduce a modification of this system into France; the new French system could not, however, have come

into full and complete working until 1876. This should be borne in mind when it is blamed for the French defeats. The Emperor's attempt was a direct result of the Bohemian campaign of 1866. Ever since the opening battles of the present war demonstrated to Europe the massive yet mobile character of the German armies, both cabinets and peoples have been engaged in the endeavour to discover and adopt modifications of the Prussian system, suitable to the peculiar social organization of the individual members of the European family. England, with the theory of her militia to guide her, and with the encouragement afforded her by the martial spirit of her volunteers, will not be long in finding her own way out of the difficulty,—a difficulty represented by one authority as the formation and equipment of an active field army of five *corps* of 20,000, men each, supported by a force of artillery variously estimated at from 300 to 500 guns. But, although the conditions of modern warfare seem to demand reserves which can only be furnished by the resort to what is called a national army, the force in India must, it would seem, still remain a standing army. Of course it is easy to see that any system which increases the military reserves of England must indirectly strengthen her hold on India. The British contingent in this country must ever be a mercenary force, wrapped in its own traditions, and occupying the position of a military caste among the people amidst which it performs its service. There can never be any *rapprochement* between it and the natives, never any relaxation of its service. As it is always on duty, always under arms, always liable to be called into the field at scanty notice, it must be regarded as, in a special sense, a standing army. In fact, it seems likely to be the last force to which such a description will purely apply. The war which compels England to keep up the strength of the battalions in India by volunteers, or men enlisted specially for a certain term of long service in a particular dependency, compels her to engraft on the national system another system opposed to its regular development, and will compel her to acknowledge that soldiers in India are not available generally for imperial quarrels, and are consequently a local European army for India. This will not be readily admitted; but this is what the change, now inevitable in the constitution of the British forces, will amount to so far as India is concerned.

But if the European force is mercenary, the native army is no less so. In its ranks the Pathan adventurer from the frontier fights side by side with the Sikh and the Hindustani. The regiments of the line have no local colouring, no tribal, or national characteristics. There are supplementary corps where a show of such distinctions is made, but in these corps the distinctions themselves serve the general purpose of separating the men composing the corps as a military class from the mass of the people.

The soldier again of the Bombay army, whose home is on the banks of the Goomtee, is as much a mercenary as the Sikh or Pathan in a Bengal regiment serving in any of the Gangetic provinces, or the private of the British battalions who has undertaken to follow the drum for a period of ten years over the plains of India. The plan of a national force is not applicable to India. England does not desire to utilize the military resources of India to the utmost ; there are no territories beyond the frontier to tempt her to undertake new conquests. She is content to limit her demands to her bare necessities, and to keep down the blood-tax to the lowest possible point, one in 1,166 of the population. There is policy in this in a country where the use of arms might prove a source of trouble and danger. There is, too, a danger. The administration is apt to proceed to an extreme view, and to model its military resources on its purely Indian requirements. Sir William Mansfield, indeed, hints that this has been done to an extent which cannot be carried further without positive risk. Then, again, the more the administration regards the army from a purely Indian point of view, the greater and more overwhelming is the pressure put upon the heads of the army to confine the organization of the force to the narrow exigencies of garrison duty in a country disarmed and without chiefs,—those exigencies being slightly modified by the chance of an occasional fight with the brave but unorganized (*disorganized* would not be too strong a word) tribes of the frontier.

In fact, the more it became apparent that the administration regarded the army as a sort of *elite* military police, the greater became the tendency to yield to the cry in favor of Irregularism. What seemed to answer so well in Algeria, what had answered so well in the hands of individual officers in India—seemed a safe organization for the new native army, the creation of which was forced on India by the mutinies. The vaunted prowess of the Zouaves in the Crimea in 1854-56, and again in Italy in 1859, elevated them to the rank of a *corps d'élite*, and gave a new impulse to the change which was coming over French tactics,—a change confirmed by the ranges and rapid shooting of the new infantry weapons. India thought she could not do better than abandon her old organization. The new army was, therefore, organized as an Irregular force. Irregularism has now gone down in France before the Mobile Regularism of Prussia. In this latter system, celerity of movement has been added to a steadiness which even English Guardsmen may envy. Prussian soldiers have been drilled into a habit of keeping their ranks until they have become the most tenacious fighters in Europe ; their generals charge indifferently in line, in mass, or in company columns, as circumstances may demand, but whilst they can rely on their men for work of this sort, they know that

as skirmishers the soldiers can be trusted to advance swiftly, to take every advantage of the ground, and to rally with celerity and coolness. They have added mobility to steadiness, and made skirmishing a special training for men who could already march like a wall. Yet they have not wholly abandoned the use of light infantry, since to every *corps* there is attached a special Jager battalion, the men of which are all crack shots ; these Jager battalions form a body of light troops of which any army might be proud. The French sought to make mobility take the place of cohesion. The Prussians, on the other hand, saw in the necessity for greater mobility only a greater necessity for training their men to hang together. The French trusted to the fierceness of an attack ; the Prussians, to its weight and persistency. All through the war, as soon as the Prussian battle was developed, the French army crumbled before their masses, and the soldiers of Algeria were beaten in spite of good positions and a better infantry weapon. The result has effectually disposed of the theory that with the new weapons battles would become merely huge skirmishes. It has done more ; for it has discredited that Irregularism towards which the French tended, and which has been adopted in India. Frenchmen, indeed, have already gone so far as to say that Algeria, their boasted school of warfare, has unfitted them for a European contest. There is, however, in the English mind a predisposition to steadiness, which has disinclined us to yield to the innovations of the French, and which in India has striven to invest the new native army with the reputation enjoyed by the forces of the Company for a knowledge of drill. Solidity and steadiness on parade is still zealously sought after. Regiments still march past in grand divisions with arms sloped to rule, with a stately step and slow, and with an attempt to preserve the traditional " wall-like " appearance supposed to be as distinctive of English soldiers as the colour of their tunics.

The army has clung with desperate tenacity to its old parade form. The Irregularism is chiefly seen in its organization, the object of which seems to be the reduction of English leadership to a minimum. One principal effect of this tendency has been to saddle the army vote with an enormous non-efficient charge,—an effect complicated by the conversion of almost the whole body of officers into a Staff Corps, in which promotion is inevitable in a given time ; and by the breaking up of the bonus system, which afforded the only inducement to officers to retire. The result is the accumulation on the non-active list, of soldiers whose very rank and luck in promotion are the bar to their employment. To compel officers to remain in a service which is unable to provide them with employment, is to repeat on a larger and more costly scale in India that evil of an expensive non-effective list, which is a principal blot of

the British army organization. There must be a pleasure in the mere fact of disbursing large sums for salaries, or the Government of India would not insist in retaining officers to do nothing.

The natural tendency of all military systems is to crystallize. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as war is one of the most progressive of the sciences. Unfortunately, every fresh step in its advance is the result of some new convulsion. A period of peace does but strengthen and intensify the tendency to rest satisfied with the present, and the disposition to resent change as involving an inevitable departure from proved excellence. The more the army is separated from the mass of the people, the further is it removed from those influences which compel revision and improvement in national armies. England is a marked illustration of this position. In spite of the never-ceasing demands upon the English army, in spite of its victories and its glory, the national jealousy of it as an institution has never relaxed, never ceased to approve of reductions in its strength, and never forgotten that it might be a weapon dangerous to the popular liberty. Military reformers have had to meet with a two-fold resistance to their suggestions: that which proceeded from within the army itself—the innate resistance of the system to change in any form; and that which proceeded from outside—the unreasonable dislike of the people to developing a new strength in a machine which their fathers had pronounced the most formidable in Europe. They were satisfied with the declaration of Napoleon I, re-echoed by Marshal Bugeaud and General Trochu, that the British infantry is the most redoubtable in the world, and were not prepared to grumble at there being so little of it. England was taught to rely on her vast resources—her immense capacity as the first of manufacturing nations—for turning out at need any required quantity of arms and equipments. She was for ever being told that when other nations, even France, began to evince signs of exhaustion, she was only beginning to feel used to her armour—was only getting into her stride; and although it was admitted, she invariably commenced a war badly, it was added, she just as invariably, if time were given her, came out of the fight well. Now, she is obliged to admit that time is not likely to be given; that she must trust more to her arsenals and less to her manufacturers; more to her trained soldiers, and less to the native valour of her recruits. She is obliged to admit, in fact, that she can henceforth only indulge in a weak active army in consideration of her keeping up large reserves of men capable of discharging all a soldier's duty in a soldierly way. Her active army must be a perfect organization: it must be a model and a school. It must be capable of expansion without danger to its efficiency, and of contraction without the risk of sacrificing its power of expansion.

Men seldom suspect a flaw in a sword until it breaks. A

standing army once formed is rarely re-constructed, unless under the pressure of misfortune. Yet, just as a standing army must be supposed to represent the available armed strength of a nation, it ought to keep place with the general advance of the people it protects. It is no true representative of the national strength, unless it turn to account the latest product of the national intelligence, and the latest experience of the systems against which it may have to defend the national honour or liberty. In India the evils of a standing army must always exist in an exaggerated form. For many generations it must be the only form of military force the Government will be capable of organizing. The police force might be regarded as a reserve, but, guided by exclusively Indian considerations, the armed contingent of this force has been reduced to a fraction worthless for general purposes. But it so happens that year by year the possible fields of warfare on which the Anglo-Indian army may be called upon to contend, are multiplied; they already include China, Persia and the Arabian and Persian coasts,—fields where, as on the borders of the empire, it is only likely to be called upon to meet a barbarous or ill-organized enemy. But suggestions have been put forward in influential quarters which would largely extend the area of its operations. The discussion as to whether Indian soldiers should not be used in New Zealand, though fruitless, is indicative of the tendency of English statesmen to regard the Indian army as an integral part of the imperial strength, to be used freely wherever it can be used with comparative ease and with good effect. Even, however, if it be asserted that sepoys will never be sent to the colonies, they are none the less likely to be called on to meet a European, or a highly organized enemy. Were it ever again necessary to defend Egypt, an Indian contingent might have to encounter Turcos and Zouaves, or highly-trained European troops; or if it should be desirable to coerce the Khedive into a proper regard for the interests of his suzerain, an Indian contingent would then have to meet a native African force organized on a French model and of admitted merit. Of the contingency of a war with Russia, it is only sufficient to say that it could scarcely be waged by England without adding to the experience of war gained by the Indian army. A quarrel with France would probably lead to an expedition from India against Saigon, whilst a dispute with Russia might result in the organization of an attack on the Amoor settlements, a stirring up of strife in Central Asia, or a material support to Persia or the Turkish power in Armenia. One thing is clear. The successive expeditions to Persia, China, Egypt and Abyssinia, have convinced English statesmen of the value of the Indian army. If it be admitted that Britain is bound to protect India at all hazards, it must also be admitted that India is bound to repay the obligation, and to

use her resources to protect such Imperial interests as fall within the legitimate sphere of her influence.*

It comes then to this: that while the Indian army is being constantly fined down to purely Indian requirements, the march of events is gradually but surely extending the possible field of its warfare. Its efficiency is, therefore, a question of imperial interest, and no longer a matter of its relative superiority to the levy of an Afghan tribe, or the shadow of itself in the hands of a native chief. Sir William Mansfield, on his retirement from office, attempted to excuse the ugly fact that the army—an army without reserves—had been reduced to a point which could not be passed without danger, by declaring his belief that it was in the highest degree of efficiency. Yet it is notorious in Bengal that more than two-thirds of the British infantry are still armed with muzzle-loading weapons, and that even these are for the most part either converted muskets or old rifles. The possession of these arms renders the troops armed with them inefficient; that such arms should yet be borne by English soldiers on service—for the soldier in India is always on service—is simply another instance of the inability of a military administration to believe in the necessity for reforms.

But it betrays much more than the Philistinism of a particular branch of the Indian service. It proves that, in addition to all the other evils under which it labours, the Indian army is, in a special degree, dependent on England. Arsenal like those at Fort William, Allahabad and Ferozepore, are of little value if they are to be mere depôts of arms, belonging to patterns which modern contests have rendered obsolete. Only within the past few months has a decision been come to, to arm a dozen native infantry regiments with the Enfield rifle. There is no need to discuss a question which events have already decided. If the Chinese and Japanese have accepted the fact that the infantry arm must be a breech-loading rifle, it is worse than folly for India to cling to smooth-bores and Enfields. The Abyssinian expedition showed, among other things, that, if native troops are to be called on to operate beyond the bounds of India,

"Looking to the many questions raised in reference to the political importance of Egypt and the Red Sea, and looking to the state of affairs in Europe, every day becoming more seriously complicated, it would be impossible that a prudent Government, charged with the preservation of interests, both public and private, so enormous as are involved in the security of India, could be insensible to the duty of maintaining its mili-

tary defences in an efficient state. For certain it is, if ever we are to have another European war (and how long that may be no one will venture to say), yet, come when it may, it is certain that in the altered state of things, we may expect operations in India and against India to form no small element in such a war."—*Speech of the Right Honorable James Wilson in the Legislative Council of India, the 21st April 1860.*

in
we
of
an
to
en
say
rep
the
lin
fro
Fr
Car
Par
Par
on t
vey
Ger
the
ther
carr
tw
arm
two

they must be armed with as good a weapon as can be given them. At the battle of the Bashilo, Lord Napier of Magdala discovered that the "smooth-bore" of the 23rd Punjab Pioneers was "hardly equal to the double-barrelled percussion gun of the Abyssinians." Discoveries of that sort may be too dearly bought, more especially if they are left to be made on a field of battle. It might just as well have been argued in 1856 that the native troops should be armed with fowling-pieces, in order to retain the advantage of the musket for the British infantry. The argument of strength will not apply, for the relative proportion has been so reduced as to put any fear of the result of a second prætorian outbreak beyond all question. In 1856 we had only 48,519 Europeans against an army of 275,304 natives; in 1869 the European force had been increased to 61,837 and the natives reduced to 121,021. Moreover in Bengal, the field of the rebellion, the proportion is not even as one to two, for there are 36,795 Europeans against 46,276 natives. If the Franco-German war and its consequent disturbance of the political atmosphere, cause the Indian authorities to throw antiquated semi-political considerations to the winds, and to recognize the plain duty of making the Indian army a model for efficiency, the public will see the native army furnished with breech-loaders.

This war has shown that an army which is not ready to move into the field at sudden and short notice, is likely to find itself in a worse position than that of the Hanoverians in 1866. The advance of the Prussians cut them off from their points of concentration and from their depôts. The result of the consequent inability to move with celerity was a capitulation in spite of a successful encounter with the enemy. But in India no one will pretend to say the efforts of France and Prussia in July last could be repeated or rivalled. M. Ollivier made his fatal declaration to the French Chambers on the 15th July. Yet on the 22nd, the first line had begun to assume an imposing appearance along the frontier. MacMahon was at Strasbourg, De Failly at Bitsch, Frossard at St. Avold, Bazaine at Metz, L'Admirault at Thionville, Canrobert at Nancy, and the Guards under Bourbaki were leaving Paris. The declaration of war despatched by special messenger from Paris on the evening of the 17th, did not reach Berlin till the 19th; on the 24th the German army was not only mobilized, but being conveyed to the Rhine; on the 28th the whole twelve *corps* of the North German Confederation, except the 4th and 6th, were in march to the frontier. Yet, quick as they were, the French had the start of them, and, but for the indecision of their leaders, might have carried the war far into Rhenish Prussia and the Bavarian Pfalz. In twenty days after it was announced that there must be war, the armies had come into decisive contact, the Prussians having moved two and a quarter times as many, and the French one and

three-quarter times as many men as the whole combined force of India. What has been done in India? War is made in the good old-fashioned, steady, leisurely way. If England is unprepared, India is more unprepared. If to be in advance of things military at home were treason, India could not keep more devotedly and loyally in the background than she does at present. Recent Indian history is full of instances of her unreadiness. It is necessary to go back in order to show that this unreadiness is characteristic, and that, although the Indian Army has received constant warnings, it has not yet altered the fashion of waiting until war has actually begun, to create departments not absolutely necessary in time of peace. England has not profited by the lessons of the Crimean War; why should India then take to heart the experience of the mutiny?

Sir Sydney Cotton says, that in 1853, on the murder of Colonel Mackeson, it took the Rawul Pindee Force, composed of six companies of Europeans, a wing of a regiment of native infantry, and a regiment of native irregular cavalry, fourteen days to accomplish the 100 miles between Pindee and Peshawar. Four days were consumed in crossing this force over the Indus. Clearly that was not a performance of which any army might be proud.

Persia was threatened by Lord Clarendon on the 11th July 1856; the battle of Khooshab was fought on the 7th February 1857.

When the mutiny broke out, General Anson hurried down to Umballa. On the 16th May, the General wrote to Lord Canning:—"I have been doing my best to *organize the Force here ready for a move*, but tents and carriages are not ready, and they are indispensable. *We are also deficient in ammunition.* I hope we shall be in a state to move shortly, if required. *But we have no heavy guns.*" On the 25th May, General Anson did move from Umballa with the following Force:—The 9th Lancers, a squadron of the 4th Hussars, the 1st, 2nd, and 75th Regiments, and two Batteries of Horse Artillery. It had taken nine days to enable the Commander-in-Chief in India to make a force scarcely more than half a Prussian brigade ready for the field. This was under the pressure of a terrible emergency. Well may Kaye remark on so fatal a proof of inefficiency—"As soon as there came a necessity for action, it was found that action was impossible. The Adjutant-General, the Quarter-Master General, the Commissary General, the Chief of the Army Medical Department, each had his own special reason to give why the thing was impossible. No ammunition, no carriages, no hospital stores, no doolies for the sick and wounded. Each head of a department had his own particular protest to fling in the face of a Commander-in-Chief." The result bore out the unheeded warning given by Sir Henry Lawrence in this *Review* in March 1856:—"There is no preparation to meet sudden danger,"—that danger

which he, Edwardes and Napier, had all foreseen, and of which they had forewarned the Government.

But, again, Havelock reached Allahabad on the 30th June 1857 and found Renaud's column of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs and 120 Native Irregular Cavalry ready to start. Marshman says :—"The equipment of that column had exhausted all the carriage at the station." Indeed, so completely was this the case that Havelock could not follow Renaud for a period of seven days.

What would Bismarck, Moltke, and Von Roon think of such a state of things, such grievous unpreparedness for an emergency? What must they think of the army which has allowed such lessons to be wasted?

Our frontier wars all tell the same tale. On the night of the 24th October 1857, a band from Panjtar fell upon Lieutenant Hume in his tent and murdered him. On the 24th April 1858, a force of 4,877 men, under Sir Sydney Cotton, crossed the frontier, opposite Nowshera, to avenge the outrage.

Captain Meham was murdered by the Wuzeris on the 5th November 1859, and on the 20th December following Brigadier Chamberlain led 3,900 men across the Kuram, at Thull, to punish the offending tribe. The expedition returned to British territory on the 14th January 1860. On the 13th March, another branch of the Wuzeris, the Mahsoods, threatened Tonk, yet it was not till the 14th April that Brigadier Chamberlain again marched into the hills at the head of a little army of 5,196 men.

In 1862, it was resolved to bring the Hindustanis at Mulka Sittana and their Pathan supporters to their senses; differences on the character of the operations to be undertaken, and on the composition of the force to be employed, between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, followed by the unfortunate death of Lord Elgin, led to the postponement of the expedition. On the 7th September, the fanatics gave new cause of offence by crossing the border near Topi; yet, in spite of the long warning, it was not till the 20th October that Sir Neville Chamberlain seized the head of the Surkhawi Pass. The result of the "Umbeyla campaign" which followed, was not such as to induce the belief that the Indian army could go anywhere and do anything.

The Bhootan war again showed divided counsels. It was first decided to send the expedition by water, then partly by land and partly by water, then by water only, and then by land only. These uncertainties cost the Government £15,000. Sir John Lawrence's *ultimatum* is dated the 9th June 1864; the period of grace expired on the 1st September; yet the Bhootan force was not in motion till October, and it was the first week in December before the game opened by the capture of Dalinkote and Dewangiri, at the extremities of the line of operations. Who is proud of the

result of that campaign? It almost argues a deterioration in the fibre of the army, when a cry is raised for a medal to commemorate so disgraceful a passage of arms. A treaty baited with a large subsidy was presented to the Dhurm and Deb Rajas as an *ultimatum* is usually tendered, and yet a second expedition was necessary before the Tongso Penlow surrendered the two guns lost at Dewangiri.

On the 30th July 1868 the Hussunzyes assaulted an outpost in the Agrore valley, and made the Hazara expedition necessary. By the 12th August the gallant Rothney, at the head of his Goorkhas, had cleared the valley of the marauders. Behind his firm front two brigades were formed, and on the 3rd October they began their celebrated march through the fastnesses of the Black Mountain.

The China Expedition of 1860 was like the Abyssinian campaign in the length of its preparations, and both proved that an army which is unable to move a couple of brigades at home in a less period than six weeks, must require months to equip an expedition for war on a foreign theatre of operations. Is the massing of a body of 5,000 men, as at Umballa in 1869, a theme for congratulation, or the assembly of twice that number at Agra, as in 1866, a proof of overwhelming strength?

It may be said that things will be better now that the railways can be placed at the disposal of the Government for the conveyance of troops. The main line of railway in northern India is, however, but a single line for the greater part of its length. The rolling stock of the Company, again, is scattered over a length of 1,000 miles. No army trusts to railways beyond a certain point. Without railways Prussia and France could not have achieved their triumphs of logistics; but when once the Rhine was reached, the Prussian army almost cut itself free from this advantage. The army of the Crown Prince marched, manœuvred, and fought its way from Wissembourg to Sedan between the 4th August and the 1st September; yet, during this interval, it was more engaged in destroying railways than in using them. Had it trusted to railways, had it not contained within itself everything requisite for independent movement, its advance would have stopped at Carlsruhe. Suppose an offensive movement in force were required to be made against the Maharaja of Jodhpore, or that Scindhia's well-drilled division were to "go" as in 1857, the railway in one case would aid the army as far as Delhi, and in the other as far as Agra. Arrived at its base, the Jodhpore or Gwalior field force would have to wait idly in camp until its carriage was collected. The reason is not far to seek. The Prussian army is organized to conquer emergencies; the Indian army to abide them. In Prussia each part of the army is complete in itself; a *corps d'armée* is a perfect organism, and when ordered to take the field, it can do so effectively without reference to the con-

dition of any other *corps*, and without being compelled to depend on railways. It has within itself the means of turning both the railway and the telegraph to account, but it is capable of doing without the former, and yet, if necessary, of progressing for days together at the rate of 20 miles *per diem*. In India an outbreak would find a line of railway stretching over 1,000 or 1,500 miles of country cut in a hundred different places. The Indian army, if need be, must be independent of the railway, and, like the German forces, must be in each individual component part complete in all that an army in the field can require. Before dismissing the subject of the use of railways, it may be useful to note how singularly unprotected are the immense lengths of the Indian lines. Structures like the Soane, Jumna and Kurumnassa bridges are perfectly defenceless. If Allahabad were ever again to be invested, the bridge would have to be sacrificed. Structures like these might each be defended by a *tête du pont*, capable of being armed at the briefest notice.

The present war has restored their importance to fortresses. Strasbourg detained 65,000 Germans, Metz 200,000; Phalsbourg and Toul imperilled their communications. It is true that when masses numbered by hundreds of thousands take the field, a great fortress does not prevent an enemy from overrunning the country in its rear; but it does retard his advance, it does prevent him from turning his successes to their full account, and it not unfrequently deflects him from the true line of his advance. In India, however, the uses of forts seem to have escaped attention. There is scarcely one worth the name. It has been shown that Englishmen can hold mere houses against the best efforts of the natives, and hence probably it has been concluded that modern works of strength at strategical points are unnecessary. Such works would be of far more real service to the country than costly barracks in open stations, on sites which are invariably condemned as soon as a sufficient sum of money has been spent on them to render removal impossible. It must strike an intelligent foreign officer with a curious mixture of wonder, surprise and pity, to read in one breath elaborate arguments for affording British troops shelter from an Indian sun, and in the next an account of how these very troops have been compelled, by the bare instinct of self-preservation, to rush from the shelter of the barracks to the dangers of a life in tents with a thermometer above 100°. And he would probably consider it a decisive proof of British inaptitude for organization that the question of sites for cantonments has not long ago been authoritatively and finally settled by a competent Commission of high military and medical officials.

The strength of the Prussian system is the individual complete-

ness at all points of the various component parts of the army. The result of this independent perfection has been repeatedly proved by the sudden way in which new armies have been created as circumstances required. Each new army works with the smoothness of an old organization ; there is no hitch for transport, no faltering for ammunition, no rawness of a new staff unacquainted with the forces they have to handle. The German soldier is not worried with strange duties ; the completeness of his *corps* enables him, as on the morning after the battle of Sedan, to set out in search of new victories, as soon as the fate of one conflict has been determined, and if he be halted, he is reminded by a morning's careful drill of the value of his training as a soldier. No contrast could be conceived greater than that afforded by an army like that of Prussia, complete in all its parts, and an army like that of India, frittered over an immense tract of country, complete in no one single part, divided into 16 divisions and 25 brigades ; many of the brigades being only cheap divisions, and organized under, so to speak, three more or less rival systems, the British, the Irregularism of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and that of the Frontier or Contingent system. That unity which Germans prize so highly, and which has made their army, according to Colonel Hamley, the most formidable weapon, whether for offence or defence, ever forged by the hand of man, has no meaning in India. The first step in any reform in this direction must be the abolition of the minor Commanders-in-Chief, and the absorption of all independent brigades into the body of the army. The whole force can then be re-distributed into graded divisional commands, each to be held by a Major-General, the rank of Brigadier being done away with. The first-class division commanders would answer to the *corps* commanders in Prussia, and their primary duty would be to keep all below them up to the mark, and the whole of the troops under their authority ready to move at a moment's notice. We should not then have the Commander-in-Chief in India inspecting solitary regiments as a part of his regular duty. He would be relieved of much drudgery, and would yet have the whole force of India more truly in the hollow of his hand than any of his predecessors. The army would also perhaps gain in efficiency, if, instead of direct enlistment into the ranks, *umedwars* were assembled at various points selected as divisional depôts, and drafted into regiments as occasion arose. These reserves might safely amount to at least 100 men per regiment, and might perhaps obviate the necessity for keeping up a semi-drilled and armed police reserve.

At present the Indian army is obnoxious to almost any charge a Continental officer could bring against a force calling itself an army, yet India pays enough to secure as good an

army as is possible. Not many months before Sir William Mansfield left India, a raid was made upon some heavy batteries of artillery, which were broken up, and the men absorbed. Since then a few men have been reduced in the Madras infantry regiments. Reduction has, in fact, been carried to its extremest point, without, however, ceasing to make the army costly to a degree. Mr. Sturt's "Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress of India during 1868-69, presented to the Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty," makes the army of India amount to 183,000 men.

	Europeans.	Natives.
Bengal	... 36,795	46,276
Madras	... 12,766	45,992
Bombay	... 12,276	28,753
Total	... 61,837	121,021

This army cost, according to the same authority, the immense sum of £16,269,581. It may be useful to see what other countries pay, and what they receive for the money.

Nation.	War department Budget.	Strength of Army on peace footing.
America	... £ 25,676,385	80,000
Russia	... £ 20,655,900	500,000
India	.. £ 16,269,581	183,000
France	... £ 15,000,000	404,794
England	... £ 14,250,000	161,302
North Germany	£ 10,200,000	319,476
Austria	... £ 7,295,000	246,000
Italy	... £ 5,707,320	183,441
Spain	... £ 3,966,712	80,000

India is therefore *third*, if we regard outlay, but *sixth* only, if we look to the number of men kept on foot. In all the other countries, however, a portion of the outlay, more or less, is spent on reserves of some sort. The only reserves of the Indian army are the 4,000 or 5,000 men in the home depôts of the British regiments, and a few invalids. One cause of this vast expenditure is doubtless to be found in the necessity for keeping up a transport service, another is the burden of a huge non-effective list, but the main cause must be sought in the fact that India has, with a very trifling exception, to supply her army with equipments from home. This tells against her in two ways. She has, first, to pay an enhanced value for her stores; and she has, secondly, to wait the convenience of the military authorities of the Horse Guards, the War Department, and the India Office. She can produce inventors of rifles, bullets and even of a *mitrailleuse*, but she cannot produce

either a rifle or a *mitrailleuse*, and she is only now in a position to produce Snider bullets, of a pattern by the way which will not stand the climate. One of two conclusions seems inevitable; either it is intended to keep the Indian army as helpless as possible, or it is seriously believed that its communications with England will never be affected by any war at all. Instead of sending Colonel Maxwell home to learn how to cast bronze muzzle-loading cannon, he should have been instructed to procure the machinery for a small, but first class, manufacturing arsenal. Surely, it is as necessary to provide the army with weapons as the people with coin. The chief recommendation of a standing army is, that it is able to deliver a crushing blow at the very outset of a war, but if it be, as the Indian army is now, confessedly the worst armed force in the world, its ability to keep the field, except against tribes using matchlocks, is open to very grave doubt.

What the mutiny began, amalgamation has rendered permanent. If India has the worst armed, she has also the worst officered army in the world. Her system sets gradations of rank at defiance, and replaces an ordered regimental system of officering her troops by a mere regimental staff. The merit of the Irregular system before the mutiny was, that special officers created special corps, bound together by ties of more than clannish loyalty, and reflecting sharply, in their brilliant dash and valour, the qualities of their leaders. This spirit is now almost absent from the army. The line of demarcation between officers and men is broad and distinct,—so broad that it is almost a gulf. The English officers are in a very great measure replaced by natives promoted from the ranks, and who, however well they may have mastered drill, or however great their natural abilities or taste for war might be, are, as a rule, too ignorant to be an efficient substitute for those they have replaced. The present system cannot possibly stand the test of tough fighting. The number of English officers must be increased, or a means must be found to provide the army with a higher class of native officers. India does not get the worth of the enormous sum she pays for the army—£16,269,581.

Bengal is garrisoned by 32 battalions of British infantry, and 60 battalions of Native infantry, in addition to cavalry and artillery. A battalion of British infantry consists of 750 privates, a native battalion of 600 sepoys; the Sikh and Punjabi regiments of the frontier force have each 640 sepoys. In either case, the battalion is technically "weak," and below a proper war strength. The same may be said of the cavalry: the English regiments numbering 378, and the native, 384 troopers, each. A great deal has been said of the weakness of the artillery,—a special arm, the importance of which is even greater now than in the days when Napoleon won

some of his most desperate conflicts by its use. The English papers have taunted the Government with having placed parsimony before the interests of the State. In the desire to effect at all hazards a reduction of expenditure, the efficiency of a force which can only be useful according as it is highly trained, has been deliberately sacrificed to an unwise spirit of economy. The nation has been alarmed by a demonstration that the one arm of its strength on which it most relied, has been wilfully and persistently kept below the point which would admit of its expanding with ease and rapidity in the hour of need. But India is worse off in this respect than England. The following figures relating to the strength of the home batteries are taken from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of October 26th, those for the Indian batteries from the *Bengal Official Quarterly Army List* :—

	Present strength of Batteries at home,		Strength to which each Battery is being made up.		Full war strength.		Strength of Batteries serving in Bengal.	
	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.
Horse Artillery	167	112	185	146	220	236	151	178
Field Artillery	165	84	177	116	269	242	151	110
" "	165	84	176	84	269	242		

Well might Sir William Mansfield enter a protest against further reductions. He might, however, have spared the world his opinions as to the efficiency of an army which, in spite of the assertion of its being always on active service, is in every branch maintained at the lowest possible standard of a peace-footing. The reputation of the Indian army rests in fact upon its known strength before the mutiny, yet it is now composed of a force of only 121,021 natives against 275,304 in 1856, and is distinguished from other armies by the paucity of its regimental officers. Take Bengal and compare the native infantry in this respect with the English regiments, care being taken to leave out all officers on leave in England, or employed away from their regiments.

Battalions.	Cols.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors	Cpts.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.
45 regts. of N. I.	9	38	43	136	87	15
5 " of Goorkhas	0	6	5	16	6	0
4 " of Sikhs	0	2	4	33	23	6
6 " of Punjabis						
60 battalions of native infantry	9	46	52	185	116	21
32 battalions of British infantry	10	27	47	206	300	230

To an ordinary understanding it would seem as if either the English regiments were officered on a most extravagant scale, or the

native regiments dangerously under-officered. This will be seen also in the cavalry.

19 regiments of native cavalry }	Cols.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors.	Cpts.	Lieuts.	Cornet.	Ensign.
	3	7	11	52	33	1	1

One regiment of native cavalry has four lieutenants, one regiment has three, nine regiments have two, and eight regiments have one. In the Punjab Frontier Force the case is perhaps worse—

5 regiments of native cavalry }	Col.	Lieut.-Col.	Majors.	Cpts.	Lieuts.	Cornet.	Ensign.
	0	1	2	14	10	0	0

In the infantry the average is 7.15 officers to each battalion of 600 sepoy, and 25.62 officers to each English battalion of 750 privates; that is, in the former case, one officer to about 84 men, and in the latter, one officer to about 29 men. But, bad as the system evidently must be, it is aggravated by the operation of the leave rules. To give an example from that portion of the Bengal army most exposed to the chances of active service, the ten regiments of native infantry belonging to this force had, according to the *Bengal Army List* for October last, 87 combatant appointments to be held by English officers, but of these the probationary and officiating appointments were, according to the same list, no less than 41, or about 47 per cent. One regiment was officered by no more than four combatant officers, the rest being on leave: the four are thus described:—one officiating commandant, one officiating second in command and wing officer, one officiating wing officer, and one officiating adjutant and first wing subaltern. The designations are as barbarous and uncouth as the system is ill-devised and ill-developed. It will not fail to have struck the reader that the captains are largely in excess of the other ranks, and that the junior grades are weak. Under the irregular system, a captain is the luckiest of all officers, if he is not on the general list. He may be anything from that peculiarly Indian hybrid—"an adjutant and wing subaltern," to the commandant of a battalion, and, if ever fortune brought, say, the 1st, 2nd and 5th regiments of Punjab infantry together, a lucky accident on the staff might give a captain the temporary command of a brigade. This is not because field officers are scarce, for the April *Army List* showed that for the 121,021 soldiers of the native army there was a staff of, excluding Artillery and Engineers, 20 Generals, 40 Lieutenant-Generals, 113 Major-Generals, 227 Colonels, 543 Lieutenant-Colonels and 606 Majors. It is fortunate that the Police and Civil employ absorb some of these officers, or the cost of the army would be an even greater burden than it is. It affords, however, food for reflection to find so many field officers paid for doing nothing, whilst captains command regiments, not because they are better officers, or because they are cheaper, for there can be no saving, but because

they happen to be in the way of getting their commands. The Indian army is, again, officered from a huge Staff Corps which threatens to embrace every officer employed with native troops, yet it has no staff college, and just as the French have been scorned for their want of knowledge of the geography and topography of their own country, so the Indian army is open to censure in that it believed the Umbeyla Pass to be two miles long until the advance over the border proved it to be six. If an Indian officer wishes to go through a course of instruction in military science, he must take leave and enter Sandhurst. India offers him no opportunity. This astounding fact is but a fresh proof of the singular way in which the Indian army is subordinated to English notions, and its best and truest interests ignored or sacrificed. The officers in France have found, when too late, how great an evil was separation from their men; how in spite of admirable drill, it broke the bonds of discipline, and in the hour of trial, when mutual knowledge and mutual respect might have availed to keep a front to a successful enemy, it converted defeat into rout, and the disorder of a lost fight into irretrievable confusion and irremediable wreck. Over and over again do the war correspondents repeat the complaint of the French officers that their men will not obey them, and the angry lamentation of the French soldiers that they know nothing of their officers. In India this mutual knowledge, a knowledge which all history teaches us, is absolutely necessary to the efficiency of any army—more especially of an army of mercenaries, was the strong point of the old sepoy army; yet in a force whose leaders are as 1 to 84, the extraordinary number of acting appointments must have a most injurious effect. The result of the present system is to render an intimate personal knowledge of his men well-nigh impossible to the Indian regimental officer. Here again the breakdown of the French system cannot but be a solemn warning to the authorities of the Indian army to set their house in order. The present system fails in a three-fold sense; it is obnoxious to the charge of ignoring any enemy better handed and armed than such as are to be found in India itself; it breaks down distinctions of rank in the most ridiculous and irregular fashion; it widens the distance between the leaders and the led; and by gradually making a system of time promotion universal, it operates prejudicially against the professional zeal of the officers. In short, the time seems to call for a repetition of the warning of Sir Henry Lawrence—"Honour will be to him who, notwithstanding the outcry that will follow, will change the system that has brought irregular troops into fashion to the disparagement of regulars." This warning is, in a special sense, the lesson to be derived by India from the war. She cannot adopt the national army systems; she cannot,

without excessive expenditure and considerable danger, create large reserves. But she can regularize her forces, and once for all abandon the misgivings and the mistakes which have grown up out of the mutiny of the Bengal sepoy.

Further, the stand made by Lord Granville against the insidious demands of Prince Gortschakoff may be regarded as a proof of the greater weight India now exercises on English imperial policy. The governing interest of England in the Eastern question, in the neutralization of the Black Sea, and the maintenance of the sovereignty of the Porte, is the necessity for preserving the line of communication with India from a disastrous and sudden attack in flank. A war waged by England in Europe must ever be more or less the opportunity of the disaffected in India. In the *Friend of India* for June 16th, 1859, "a leading mutineer, a man high in the confidence of the Begum," is represented as saying in a statement of the causes and consequences of the mutiny:—"If you have to send regiments to England on account of the war, excitement will be produced, for all eyes are turned in that direction." That statement is as true of 1871 as it was of 1856-57. But the world has made a great step in advance since the mutiny. The efforts necessary to preserve India, opened the eyes of the people of England to the value of their great dependency. The Abyssinian expedition taught them that an army employed beyond India may be regarded as an army of hostages. The Indian garrison will never be weakened, but the whole Indian army may be called upon to take part in an imperial contest. To enable it to rise to the expectations formed of it, to rise in fact to the height of its own reputation, it must be, as far as the native branch is concerned, regularized, and, as a whole, it must be made self-contained, independent, and ONE. Facilities must be provided for officers to study their profession in India; tactics, or the mere professional handling of troops, will not suffice without knowledge of war as an art. Means must be found to free the service of superfluous officers who are retained with injustice to themselves and injury to the State, and to secure a supply of subaltern officers independently of the English garrison. In case of a war this source would not be available. The artillery must be re-armed; as the old six and nine pounder smooth-bores and 12 and 24 pounder howitzers could only be taken into the field at great risk. And even more than this,—the artillery should be brought up to and maintained at its full strength. The excess of men over the peace requirements of cantonments in the plains might be formed into a dépôt in the hills. The infantry and cavalry ought to be armed with the best weapons. A special arm, with its own peculiar ammunition, places the soldiers at the mercy of those who hold their magazines, and is therefore, to that extent, a guarantee of their

loyalty or powerlessness, whichever term it may be convenient to use. But magazines ought to be invariably places of strength, situated on main lines of communication. A system of such places of strength is a want which the Public Works Department has yet to satisfy. While, too, a re-organization of the army is necessary to give the Government of India and the Commander-in-chief instant and supreme command over it as a whole, it should be reconstructed so that each individual portion may march by itself, at the shortest notice, and without depending on a railway. The usefulness of a railway in India is limited by the fact that it cannot follow an army into the field. Yet care should always be taken to protect the more important joints of the main lines of railroads by works capable of being defended by a resolute handful of men against largely superior numbers. The organizations in France and Germany known to English readers under the collective name of "the train," are conspicuous by their absence in India. Lastly, the Indian army ought to have its own manufactory of arms, as well as its cannon foundry and small-arm ammunition factory. The inveterate English habit of leaving emergencies to create the agencies by which they are to be conquered—a habit pregnant with danger and productive of riotous waste and cost—has claimed the Indian army for its peculiar prey. If the member of the Government responsible for the administration of the army, will favour the public with a detailed army budget, following the example of Lord Mayo in the Public Works Department in April last, the public of India will be in a position to see what they get for so gigantic a vote as £16,269,581. And for the rest, bearing in mind the lessons of the Franco-German War and the threatening look of the political atmosphere, charged in all directions—in America, in Eastern Europe, in China, with the elements of fierce disturbance, the conviction is irresistible, that the army of India is behind the age by the whole period which has intervened since the Crimean War, and that the sooner it is re-modelled, re-organized and re-armed, the better it will be for the peace of India herself, and the interests of the empire of which she is so important a member.

ART. II—MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE IN INDIA.

A MANUAL OF MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE FOR INDIA, *including the outline of a history of crime against the person in India.* By Norman Chevers, M.D., Surgeon-Major, H. M. Bengal Army; Principal of the Calcutta Medical College, Professor of Medicine, and Senior Physician in the College Hospital; President of the Bengal Social Science Association. Calcutta; Thacker Spink and Co., Publishers to the University. 1870.

A BOOK may be judged either according to what it ought to be, or according to what it is meant to be. If the former criterion is adopted, the reviewer is bound to determine as fairly and fully as possible what occasion or demand there is for its appearance, what design or purpose its appearance should fulfil, and how far its elaboration does or does not satisfy this want and attain this end. If the author's own statements as to the reasons which prompted him to undertake the work and the objects which he designs to attain, are accepted, then the critic is bound to examine the book in the light of these reasons and designs, and to declare whether the work done subserves the ends contemplated and assigned.

A clear understanding on this point is perhaps more necessary in endeavouring to form a judgment upon a *Manual of Medical Jurisprudence* than any other kind of scientific work, for this simple reason that the field is so wide and difficult of definition. If a very high or exhaustive standard is set up, the merits of an excellent work which does not cover the possible amplitude of the subject may be under-rated and real injustice done by expecting that the author ought to have accomplished what he never meant to attempt. A moment's consideration of what the science of medical jurisprudence is, and how it is related to the other medical sciences, will add force to these remarks. Medical Jurisprudence, as commonly understood, may be roughly defined as the application of medical science to the detection and proof of crime affecting the human person. Yet there are questions which are frequently referred to the medical jurist, and which demand for their solution medical knowledge and special skill which do not fall within the domain of criminal law—questions upon which social arrangements and rights with regard to marriage, property, will-making, inheritance, life-insurance, &c., depend. These considerations compel a wider definition; and it is obvious that medico-legal science must embrace every kind of medical knowledge, which the law, in adjusting all kinds of social questions, finds it necessary to demand. To satisfy requirements of a scope so ample, it is not enough that the medical jurist should draw

nis facts from the medical sciences properly so-called—anatomy and physiology, which teach the structure and functions of the body; pathology and morbid anatomy, which embrace its diseased conditions and changes; surgery, medicine and obstetrics, which treat of the special diseases of the organism, their nature, phenomena and management; physics, chemistry, therapeutics, toxicology, botany and natural history, which supply a knowledge of the agencies which may in the usual course of events affect the body, or may artificially be brought to do so, and disclose the various relations and interdependencies which exist between man and external nature. All these sciences—essential or constituent, collateral or auxiliary—do not suffice to fill the quiver of the medical jurist. He must also be familiar with psychology and psychopathy—the normal and abnormal states of man as a rational being; with ethnology and sociology, in as far as they reveal the modifications in character and physical configuration which the continued action of external conditions produce, and the relations social, sexual and political, which obtain among men of different races and countries; add to this a moderate knowledge of general jurisprudence, written law and legal procedure, and a tolerably comprehensive sketch of the field from which medical jurisprudence has to cull its facts, has been indicated. The special form of the science depends entirely upon the special sphere of its exercise, the special ends it accomplishes, and the kind and amount of information which actual circumstances call into requisition. The subject-matter consists of “cases”; the science, of generalizations from these to meet future contingencies; and the art, of the aptitude to bring generalizations already evolved, experience already recorded, or information of any kind whencesoever obtained, to bear on the solution of a present difficulty or problem, social or legal. In two words, HUMAN NATURE, in its widest and largest sense, is the central and principal aim and object of the medical jurist’s researches. If he would represent his science in its most useful and promising aspects, he must not content himself with mere technical details relating to the descriptions of injuries, the detection of blood stains, or the recognition of poisons; he must lay bare those springs of actions which prompt to the commission of crime, show in what manner, in the usual life-history of human beings and communities, criminal thoughts arise and criminal practices grow, demonstrate how in different circumstances similar motives prompt the same, analogous, or dissimilar customs and deeds, describe the phases through which healthy thought degenerates into irrational or criminal thought, and the shades of mental condition which fall under or between these categories; in short, he must develope the laws of social pathology. By doing this, he assists and subserves that higher function of law which

attempts the prevention of crime, as much as by his acumen and success in handling technical details he contributes to the clearing up of any particular crime or legal question which may become the subject of a particular trial. It is satisfactory to find that these high aims, which undoubtedly *ought* to constitute the aspirations of a writer on medical jurisprudence, are precisely the views which Dr. Chevers entertains, as avowed in his preface and manifested in the handling and illustration of the various subjects taken up in his book. The author and critic are, therefore, in complete accord as to what the book ought to be, and it remains to be seen whether and to what extent the design of the work has been carried out.

The history of this book is interesting. When performing the duties of a Civil Surgeon, Dr. Chevers remarks that he was frequently struck with the remarkable singularity and intricacy of the medico-legal questions, upon which his opinion was required by the magistrates and judges of districts, and he consequently perceived that our Indian medical literature stood greatly in want of a treatise on medical jurisprudence, embodying clear and practical expositions of the various and peculiar modes by which the natives of this country are wont to effect crimes against the person, and to attempt their concealment; as well as full illustrations of the many difficult questions regarding unsoundness of mind, identity, suicide, torture, &c., which frequently occur here under circumstances entirely dissimilar to those which call for the like investigations in Europe. Dr. Mouat, when occupying the chair of Forensic Medicine in the Calcutta Medical College in 1853, was so deeply impressed with the necessity of collecting Indian experience as disclosed in trials of criminal cases, that he applied to the court of Nizamut Adawlut (which then held a position as a court of reference and appeal similar to the present High Court) for copies of all depositions of Civil Surgeons in cases of murder and wounding subsequent to 1840, in which year such depositions were directed to be taken. Nine years' reports thus obtained were made over by Dr. Mouat to Dr. Chevers, and formed the subject of an interesting and elaborate paper in the *Indian Annals of Medical Science* for October 1854. This paper attracted the attention of the Marquis of Dalhousie, who requested its author to publish the report separately. In 1856, the second edition of the work appeared; the original treatise was "almost entirely re-written," and materials were drawn from every available source to render it more complete and useful. Only 500 copies were, however, issued, and 400 of these were distributed by Government among district magistrates and judges. The work was thus never "published" in the usual sense of the term, and has been long out of print.

This, the third edition, has been long wanted. It is evident that during the fourteen years which have intervened since the second edition was printed, the subject has been ever present with the author, and it is difficult to say which we should admire most, the industry with which such a vast collection of material as the book now contains has been amassed, or the ingenuity with which every piece of information has been placed so as to constitute an admirably arranged and thoroughly readable system; and it is worthy of note that Dr. Chevers continues to collect and accumulate material, so that there is reason to believe that the subjects already so carefully handled and copiously illustrated may, in a future edition or editions, grow still clearer and weightier from a new accession of light and material. The history of the work explains one omission which a comparison with other works on medical jurisprudence reveals, namely, a consideration of questions which come under the notice of civil law. A glance over the table of contents shows that the work almost entirely refers to the administration of criminal law, and embraces only a consideration of criminal acts. Questions of "State Medicine," such as the influence on health of social conditions, trades, &c., which fall more properly under the domain of sanitary science, are also omitted. The author does not profess to furnish an elementary treatise on medical jurisprudence, but rather "a system for India, intended to be used by those who have already mastered the science of legal medicine, as it stands well-nigh complete for Europe in the works of Taylor, Casper and Guy." The work is also intended to give an outline of the "history of crime against the person in India;" to expound the "true origin, nature and distribution of crime" in this country, and to indicate among what classes crime prevails, and the traditions upon which these criminals act.

Having thus indicated the history and scope of the work, it is not our intention to follow the author into every subject taken up in his 850 closely printed pages, or to present an analysis of their matter. This would alike deprive readers of a pleasure and do the author an injustice. We shall endeavour rather to select for discussion those more general and less technical subjects which must possess an interest for the non-professional reader, and may furnish a more or less correct and complete knowledge of criminal practices in India, their origin, peculiarities and causes.

One of the most prominent features of medico-legal practice revealed in the book are the difficulties which in this country are inseparable from it.

There is, first and foremost, putrefaction. The distances from which bodies have to be sent, the delays which may occur from a great variety of causes in their transmission, and, above all, the

climate, combine to produce a condition of the remains which is at once loathsome and revolting in the extreme, and renders the most searching and honestly conducted examination futile. Dr. Chevers' description at page 38, which we dare not transcribe, is at once graphic and true. The experience of every Civil Surgeon in India, and of many a Magistrate—for in sub-divisional stations it is the duty of the Civil Officer to witness autopsies in police cases—will abundantly support the statement that “a body of this kind offers no very safe or encouraging field for the morbid anatomist's researches.” He may, however, consider himself fortunate if his subject, even though putrid to a degree, reaches him in a tolerable state of entirety and cohesion. So many are the disorganizing agencies at work in this country that, unless an examination is made within a very few hours of death, fallacies are liable to obscure the inquiry. The disposal of the dead in India, even in the ordinary course of events, and when no motive to conceal the identity or accelerate dismemberment and disorganization exists, provides for the rapid obliteration of all traces which may lead to a detection of the cause of death, unless they are the most marked and impressed upon the skeleton. Earth, air and water abound with active agents of destruction of organized material, and whether the corpse is exposed in the “jungles of patches of waste land, ploughed fields, dirt heaps, sandy tracts, or dry water-courses,” or thrown into “tanks, swamps, muddy streams” or wells, or buried a few feet below a little loose sand or soil, or burnt on the river bank, the result is the same—rapid disorganization and unfitness for purposes of medico-legal inquiry. The Civil Surgeon in India must in fact be a medico-legal Owen—not only able to restore from the fragment of a bone the original form, but to reason from it as to the circumstances, motive and manner of a murder. A case related by Dr. Chevers, at page 87, shows the extent to which this may be done, and illustrates the difficulties and peculiarities of medico-legal inquiries in India so well that we shall make no apology for quoting it *in extenso*.

‘ In the cold season of 1850, I received a small fragment of recent bone, with an official letter from the Magistrate of the Chittagong district. The bone was evidently a portion of the shaft of the humerus or femur of a young child; it was nearly two inches long and weighed about three drachms. It had formed less than half of the circumference of the shaft, and had evidently been broken off by a jackal, the dent of a small canine tooth being impressed distinctly on its edge. I was informed that a little native girl, about four years old, had been taken away from her home by one Tofan Alee, who was some time afterwards seized by the police in attempting to cross the river. The child's silver ornaments were found upon him; he at once confessed that he had strangled the infant, and pointed out the spot

where he had buried the body. Upon close search, however, nothing could be found there, except the fragment of bone described, and, the *ghoonsee* or waist string, which the child had worn. A place near a tank was also pointed out by the prisoner, in which the child's jacket was found concealed. After confessing to the police, and repeating every circumstance of his crime before the magistrate, the prisoner retracted his avowal; and in the absence of any evidence beyond that afforded by the splinter of bone (which might have been brought by dogs or jackals from a distance), it appeared questionable whether the prisoner might not have committed the not by any means unfrequent crime of stealing the child and selling her, after having stripped her of her clothes and ornaments in the place indicated. After examining the splinter of bone, I expressed my belief that the body had been devoured by wild animals, but told the darogah that diligent search must still be made for the skull, which would doubtless be discovered. I was convinced that small animals like jackals could do no more than gnaw the perfectly ossified skull of a child of that age, and roll it from place to place. The darogah failing to make any further discovery, I accompanied the magistrate to the scene of the alleged crime, a very distant solitary spot, on the bank of a narrow but deep and rapid marsh stream, by which any fragments of the body might have been carried down towards the river. As, however, it appeared unlikely that the jackals would resign any portion of their prey, I still maintained confidently that the skull must be found probably among the thickets of wild pine-apple with which the ground was covered. Shortly after this, the skull of a child was brought to me by the police; it was recent, corresponded with the age of the missing child, and had, evidently, been gnawed by small wild animals, the marks of whose teeth traversed the calvarium in every direction. Still, again, this prompt discovery of the skull, upon my reiterated assertion that it must be forthcoming, after the ground had been searched again and again for nearly a week by the whole *posse comitatus*, was somewhat startling; and the suspicion obtruded itself—have the police been so much impressed with the confidence of my assertion, that some *burkundaize*, failing to discover the head, and feeling himself unpleasantly responsible to the darogah, has endeavoured to resolve the difficulty by borrowing a credible head from one of the many bodies daily floating down the adjacent river? The skull was shown to the child's father, who asserted that he could identify it by the shape of the front teeth; but still it was questionable whether, in his anxiety to convict the man who was known to have kidnapped his child, he would have hesitated to identify any skull that might have been produced. When tried, the prisoner recalled his confession, and pleaded 'not guilty.' The sessions judge, however, sentenced him to death, and the judges of the superior court confirmed the decision, recording their opinion that "the *corpus delicti* being proved, non-recognition should not absolutely and invariably be ruled to bar capital punishment. Each case should be tried with reference to the circumstances, and to the facts established." The prisoner suffered the last penalty of the law.'

The medical jurist in India must not only be perfectly familiar with every mode in which death may occur, but he must also be prepared for every event which may happen to the body after death, whether in the usual course of events or designedly procured. A more precise and systematic knowledge of the effects of decomposition, disorganization and dismemberment, in different circumstances, is still a want in Indian medical jurisprudence. Information, such as that supplied at page 64 with regard to incrimination, is of the utmost medico-legal value, and we think that for Indian needs a work on forensic medicine should contain as exact data as can be furnished for enabling surgeons to judge of the age of bones or the period that has elapsed since their owner died, and to reconstruct skeletons from fragments. The tables of Sue, Orfila and others, should be verified for this country. Though perhaps not so correct or useful as their authors considered them, they are the only available data as yet supplied; and if their limits of possible error were accurately laid down from a sufficiently large induction, the inferences obtainable from them might be most valuable in cases when a single bone or a few bones represent the *corpus delicti*. Dr. Chevers very properly insists upon the importance of studying the ethnological peculiarities of the skeleton, and it would have added to the value of the book, had he given some of the principal measurements of the cranium and long bones in different classes and ages with relation to stature.

The difficulties of identification of the dead in India are very instructively dealt with, and the cases related and considerations adduced show the greater importance of producing and proving the *corpus delicti* in India than elsewhere. Some very curious cases of imputation of murder for vindictive purposes or for the sake of extortion are related, and instances given of the appearance of a living *corpus delicti*, when the web of circumstantial evidence has been drawn round a marked man with almost fatal tightness. When a reputed culprit feels himself bound by the apprehension of ill usage (p. 157), or by the weight of suspicion resting on him (p. 69), to confess to a crime which he has never committed, or when confessions are made and retracted or modified, it is obvious that the main and central item of proof—the corpse of the victim—should be forthcoming; and so long as natives of Bengal are apt to cause a man to disappear, produce a putrid corpse fished out of a river and wounded *post mortem* (p. 150), or hack a wretch just dead of some mortal disease and lay the corpse and deed at the door of some obnoxious person, too great care cannot be taken in proving the identity of the dead. If the author had done nothing else than bring this subject forward so prominently and illustrate it so instructively, he would have done a good service for medical jurisprudence.

The case of the wealthy mahajun, who "had a young and handsome wife, of whom he was known to be exceedingly jealous," at page 54, though perhaps too romantically told for a scientific work, is highly suggestive. The facts given at pages 57—59, by which different castes and sexes of natives may be recognized from external marks, are most excellent and useful, and might be greatly amplified so as to include all the different tribes of India. The peculiar modes of tattooing adopted by some hill tribes, corns or callosities, produced by ornaments or particular habits, &c., should be known and described accurately and exhaustively for use in doubtful investigations. Such a habit as wearing gold charms under the skin of the chest, which the Burmans practise, would afford an infallible clue to nationality even in a decomposed and partially disorganized body. Apparent trifles of this sort sometimes acquire, in legal medicine, an immense value. But the difficulties of medico-legal enquiry are considerably added to by the designed efforts of murderers to conceal, disfigure or dismember bodies. A valuable sketch of some of the practices resorted to is given at pages 22—29, but it is obvious that this subject might be very considerably enlarged upon with advantage. There is one point with regard to concealment of bodies in wells—a practice very common up-country—which is not brought out quite so fully as we could have wished, namely, the liability of bodies so disposed of to sustain injuries by coming in violent contact with the walls. This may sometimes come to be a very nice medico-legal question, and cases might be cited in addition to those mentioned at page 631, in which the determination of the point was both important and difficult. The analogous subject of *post-mortem* wounding is, however, prominently discussed, and some valuable practical hints given at page 350 on the distinction between *pre-mortem* and *post-mortem* wounds. When the design to conceal or disfigure a corpse is apparent, it affords a most important item of evidence, and though the following up of the clue belongs rather to the policeman than to the surgeon, still the suggestion proceeds from the latter, and the more intimately he is acquainted with the *dodges* of murderers, the more keen will his perception of such indications be. This consideration will demonstrate the value of many details in Dr. Chevers' volume, which may appear more or less irrelevant and of general rather than special interest. Such a passage as the following, which is given as an example of the author's style, proves the value of a knowledge of human nature in practical medical jurisprudence.

'Experience of criminal cases in all countries tends to show that the murderer is never satisfied with his work. He can never boldly leave matters to themselves, in defiance of suspicion, but must do something, and generally does it with a marked singularity which

attracts attention, and at once fixes the brand of criminality upon his act. He will not bury the body, lest the earth should burst or sink, or the grass should wither, or grow greener there than on other spots, or lest wild animals should burrow into it or tear it up, or lest a train of insects should guide the avengers of blood to it, or a torrent should descend and lay it bare. The cover of the thickest jungle will not conceal its stench from the birds and animals which will gather round it. Every reservoir far and near will be searched for it; weights will not keep it down in water; fish will collect and struggle above it; the next dry season may bring it to light; an eddy will mark where it lies sunk in the bed of the deepest stream. A fatal blow has been struck,—he cannot throw open his doors courageously and say, This man came to rob and wound me, or to outrage my feelings, and I struck him dead in self-defence, or in sudden rage;—but he must take the body forth at night and hang it before his door with the stamp of murder upon it; or he must try to burn it piecemeal in a stove or furnace, although he knows professionally that, with such means as are at his disposal, it would take cart-loads of wood to consume a human body, and that with an odour which must tell the tale to every passer-by. He is not content to strangle his victim and to cast his body forth, when it would be doubtful upon whom suspicion ought to rest, but he must separate it limb from limb, and place each fragment where it must certainly be discovered and tell its own history. He knows that when his cow or his goat dies in the fields, the jackals and crows and vultures speedily devour it; he therefore exposes his victim in like manner, when the wild creatures either avoid it or leave its wounds untouched. He deliberately murders in a manner which would make it appear that death was suicidal, and then hastens to undo his work and to leave the evidence of murder clear and unmistakeable.' (p. 601.)

This oppressive sense of guilt which goads its possessor on to desperation, is probably less felt by the criminal population of this country than by the same class in Europe, but it may and no doubt does exist in many cases,* and its evidence in the acts of the culprit, with particular regard to the disposal of the victim, is a matter of instinctive inference which may be reduced to scientific rules as precise as any rules relating to voluntary acts can be.

The description of the murderer at page 809, as "heated, panting, and almost wild with rage or terror, or pale, tremulous, pros-

* The following is from a report of criminal justice in the Madras Presidency for 1856:—"In Luttimungalum Taluk a wife and a husband had an altercation and quarrel between each other, when in a fit of rage the husband lifted up his two children aged $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 years, and dashed them on a stone, whereby the chil-

dren were killed instantly. The man was arrested and sent up by the police to the criminal court. But on his way to Coimbatore, he refused to take any sustenance for two days (probably, as it appeared, from the dreadful impression his own deed had made on his mind) and died before he reached the court."

trated and horror-stricken," is one which will not find a response in the recollection of many police officers, magistrates or civil surgeons. On the contrary, the average Bengal murderer is a singularly stolid, quiet, ordinary-looking creature, and unless he is *acting*, he preserves a most admirable calmness and self-possession, until, with "hureebol" on his lips, he takes his involuntary leap off the scaffold. And here we would remark, although it is a little out of the logical sequence of this comment, that the one great fault of Dr. Chevers' book is its tendency in some places to an unpractical, romantic and poetic view of the subject. It is very seldom, for instance, that a murderer is brought into the sudder station red-handed, and even if he were intoxicated, excited or mad, we fail to see the reason of not applying every art and agent to reduce him to a quiet and decent demeanour before the day of trial. The question is not, what is his state of mind when under trial for the offence,—then the calmer and saner he is, to confess or defend, the better; but what was his state of mind before and at the time of commission of the deed. This is a matter of evidence. We should therefore utterly and emphatically repudiate the statement that "it is only *after the trial*" (which may take place months after the deed) "that the physician can be justified in *treating* the criminal lunatic." (p. 810.) As well decline to sponge and stitch and dress the wound which may have been the stimulus to the fatal act of retaliation, in order to present it gaping and ghastly before "the jury who are to try him for murder."

The suggestion at page 29 to train pariahs and vultures "for the discovery of missing bodies," partakes of the same spirit; and excellent and to a great extent practicable as is the recommendation at page 74, to employ photography for medico-legal purposes, we cannot see much prospect of success in placing before the "hardened savage, obstinate in the denial of his guilt, the actual scene of his atrocity—the familiar walls, the charpoy, the ghastly faces as they last appeared to his reeling vision—the sight which has haunted his brain every hour since the act was done, while he believed to a certainty that its reality could never come before his eyes again." The same kind of objection applies to the suggestion, at page 462, to excise the spleen in cases of rupture. Cases of this sort generally occur in the recesses of a distant village, and it is exceedingly seldom that a medical man, possessing the necessary skill to perform this, one of the most formidable operations in surgery, is likely to be present when wanted. On this subject also, we may remark that the conditions of the rupture, &c., which determine a longer or shorter duration of life, and the methods of natural cure of such ruptures, are scarcely brought out as distinctly as they might be.

There is another difficulty in the practice of medical jurisprudence in this country, on which Dr. Chevers very properly lays great stress: it is the very meagre and often misleading character of the information supplied to the medical officer examining the body. The remarks upon this subject are both urgent and convincing. When the investigation is from any circumstances attended with difficulty, a clue is of the greatest value, and it would be as reasonable to withhold from the detective officer every scrap of information, every hint or suggestion which may aid his inquiry, as to deprive the surgeon in his search for the cause of death of any guide to the sign or lesion which may declare how death was caused. The analogy of a leading question is an utterly false one, and the position of a witness with motives to conceal, amplify or distort what he has seen or knows, and that of a scientific investigator searching for the cause of death, are totally different. "No surgeon," Dr. Chevers very truly remarks, "can be fairly expected to unravel every tissue of a body from which life may have been expelled by any one of a hundred causes,—such as by the softening of part of a nervous centre, by a stroke of lightning, by a snake-bite, by exposure to a poisonous gas, by a blow over the stomach, by a bodkin thrust into some vital organ, from hydrophobia or idiopathic tetanus, by the effect of a few drops of prussic acid, or of a few grains of strychnia,—the detection of every one of which would become an undertaking of greater and greater difficulty with every hour that elapsed after the departure of vital heat." (p. 40.) "Medical jurists," we are told further on, "cannot be too conversant with the details of the judicial enquiries in which their opinions are called for, and all reserve in furnishing them with the information which they require, involves an infraction of the law, as established both in England and in India." (p. 42.) The surgeon must not, however, confine his attention to any extraneous suggestions he may thus receive; "the examination of the body should be thorough—the plan of making partial autopsies is altogether wrong." (p. 42.) It is of the greatest importance to confirm or disprove an alleged cause of death, but Dr. Chevers cites cases which show how much damage the cause of justice may sustain by a neglect to disclose coincident causes, or record facts which may repel a possible defence. This indeed constitutes another of the difficulties of medico-legal research. It is highly probable that very few deaths occur in an Indian village, the circumstances and causes of which are not very well known to a tolerably wide circle of persons. The average native is in matters of every-day life shrewd enough, and rural social existence is confined within such a comparatively narrow circle of repeated acts, that very few of the villagers can be ignorant of the causes and circumstances of a village event; but reasons for reticence or positive misguiding

rapidly spring up, and the fragment of yellow paper which reaches the medical officer or magistrate along with the corpse, may be specious and circumstantial enough, but *totally false*, while a closer investigation, days or weeks afterwards, may bring a new theory of causation to the surface—true or untrue—when the opportunity of specifically verifying or disproving it has irretrievably passed away. The *suggestio falsi* is as well understood as, and more mischievous in these matters than, the *suppressio veri*, and the medical jurist must be fully prepared for both.

Dr. Chevers gives some very instructive cases and valuable hints on this subject. Some of the causes which prevent murder from coming to the knowledge of the police, are noted at pages 14 and 15, and others are elsewhere suggested. "The dread of a judicial inquiry, or the fear of offending a powerful criminal, very frequently induces the zemindars and others on whose land the bodies of murdered persons are found, to conceal the remains." Then, there is the apathy of the rural native, the corruption of the village police, the false fear of disclosure, and the equally false regard to honour, the venality of witnesses, and the fear of the police. Illustrations of what may be expected from a village inquest are given at page 37, and a striking example of the proceedings of a too efficient police, in which the discovery of a body led to the fabrication of a charge of murder, at page 69. These illustrations suggest a difficulty which is more felt by the judge than the medical officer—namely, the "uncertainty of general evidence in India." On this subject Dr. Chevers remarks generally:—"In India, the deceit inherent in the character of the lower class of natives, surrounds all judicial investigations with an atmosphere of obscurity. Whenever the case has involved loss of life, the friends of the deceased are not unnaturally prone to give, to say the least, an exaggerated colouring to their statements. Other witnesses, less personally concerned in the issue, either speak under intimidation or for a price, or do not hesitate to endeavour to gain credit by asserting more than they know. The neighbours, if not personally affected by the occurrence, are either quite indifferent, or more or less adverse, to the police and their inquiry." (p. 75) Medical officers are not unfrequently called upon to judge of the credibility of evidence involving scientific questions, and they cannot be too cautious in making allowance for the share which imagination or designed misrepresentation may bear in sworn testimony. Fortunately the inventive faculty of natives is as prone to conform to *custom* as every other, and a knowledge of the most common defences put forth by criminals is neither burdensome nor difficult. They most commonly proceed from *vakeels*, and among that fraternity there are a few stock defences neither deep nor hard to combat. The most common are—simple penial, an alibi, insensibility (*behosh*), epilepsy (*mirgi*), insanity,

natural causes, accident, extreme provocation, ill-will on the part of the prosecutors, imputation of the murder to another, &c. &c. Another class of difficulties arises from the modes in which criminal acts are perpetrated ; unusual poisons, compound poisons, and combinations of violence, such as stunning and strangling, drugging and strangling, strangling and suspending, piercing the skull and hanging, drowning and hanging, (pp. 590, 597, 604 and elsewhere,) import considerable doubts into medico-legal inquiry, and every doubt is a gain to the prisoner. It is fortunate, however, that custom and repetition govern the lives of natives so completely that recorded experience becomes thereby a potent guide, and the relation of particular cases furnishes not so much an element for generalization as a parallel for practical use and guidance. The effect of custom as a motive to crime will be discussed below, but its importance as an adjuvant to the discovery of crime and the exposure of criminal practices cannot be too highly estimated.

The question, How are these difficulties to be met?—has been discussed by Dr. Chevers with considerable care and knowledge of the existing practice. As regards the first duty of the surgeon—the efficient examination of the body—the great aim must be to render that duty as speedy, as little offensive, and as convenient as possible. Distance and delay must be combated by educating the native doctors who are scattered over districts in sub-divisions and dispensaries as much as possible in this speciality, and by improving the agency for transmitting bodies. Then, as regards the state of the body and the facilities for examination, disinfectants and antiputrescents must be systematically used, and the dead-house and its appliances must be improved. These points are discussed at pages 29-44 ; and again, with regard to transmitting suspected matter for chemical examination at pages 318-324 ; and very valuable hints are given on the most efficient methods of performing medico-legal duties in this country. Indeed the suggestions under the latter head leave little to be desired. But beyond these *desiderata*, there is another more general remedy loudly called for, namely, the reformation of the village police and the generation of a better village feeling with regard to criminal occurrences. As long as the chaukidar who ought to detect and report at once any crime which may disturb the village harmony, and the cause and author of which he is no doubt in most cases cognizant of, is, without mincing matters, the greatest blackguard in the place,* ready to delay, temporize, negotiate, mystify, and utterly void of a sense of

* The opinion of Mr. Bethune in follows:—
1851 with regard to chaukidars is as “ The whole number of chauki-

duty as separate and distinct from private and pecuniary interest, so long will the detection of crime be difficult, and the zeal, industry and ingenuity of the Civil Surgeon be baffled.

A note at page 15 gives some idea of what these men are, and throughout the book their venality, incompetence, collusion with criminals and utter untrustworthiness, are occasionally illustrated. Nor, we fear, is much to be expected from village punchayets or native juries *at present*. We have heard of a Brahman and a man of low caste being arraigned for the same offence in the same court and on the same evidence, the former being acquitted and the latter condemned by a native jury. Reform in this direction would tend to render justice in criminal cases more speedy and unerring, and it is not strange that these two subjects which Dr. Chevers' book have forced on our notice, are precisely those which have for some time back constituted a source of thought and solicitude to the rulers of India. In the face of the difficulties in medico-legal investigation above indicated, they acquire a new and urgent claim on the attention of social reformers; but their further discussion here is beside the purpose of this paper.

Another subject which Dr. Chevers' volume throws much light upon, and which likewise leads up to questions of social reform, is the *characteristics and peculiarities of criminal occurrences in India*. It is impossible in the absence of trustworthy statistics to form any idea of the prevalence of crime in this country as compared with others. In a note at page 9 the author gives all that he has been able to gather as to the comparative frequency of crimes of magnitude among the Hindu and Muhammadan inhabitants of India. The result is unfavourable to the latter. As many of 3·26 per cent out of 6,344 Muhammadan criminals were convicted of murder against 1·9 per cent out of 15,562 Hindus. Dr. Mair's statistics are also quoted to show that detected murders are rather less frequent in Bengal and Burmah than in England—but what of the undetected murders? The value of Dr. Mair's statistics is considerably depreciated by the result in regard to suicide

dars dismissed for misbehaviour in	three years was	...	...	1,130
of whom were convicted for				
murder and thuggee	...	...	19	
for burglary	...	...	39	
for robbery and theft	...	...	357	

that is to say, nearly one-fourth more in proportion to their number, for these heinous crimes, than were convicted in all the lower provinces of Bengal for all offences of every kind."

The Honorable F. J. Halliday,

Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, wrote in 1856:—

"They are all thieves and robbers or leagued with thieves and robbers, insomuch that when any one is robbed in a village, it is most probable that the first person suspected will be the village watchman."

What they are in the present day let the experience of magistrates and police officers declare!

* A considerable amount of information in regard to the statistics of

quoted at page 658, namely, that the proportion in an Indian population of fifty-five millions is 1 to 25,300 against 1 in 15,200 in England. The general impression obtained from rural experience in India is the great frequency of suicide, and the paltry motives which prompt natives to commit the crime. Until an accurate census has been taken and the registration of deaths established on a satisfactory basis, statistics of fatal criminal acts must remain a matter of conjecture, and there is no firm basis now to which to refer the prevalence of varieties of crime. The catalogue of prevalent crimes is given at page 6,—“theft, perjury, personation, torture, child stealing, the murder of women and of aged men, assassination, arson, the butchery of children for the sake of their ornaments, drugging and poisoning, adultery, rape, unnatural crime, the procuration of abortion,” and we may add infanticide. It is a grave list enough and contains items incompatible with civilization, but it is satisfactory to find that it does not contain sati (widow murder), leper-burying, ghat-murder, sacrifice, thuggee or dacoity, churruck-poojah (the swinging festival), or immolation beneath the wheels of Jaggannath's car: these, with two exceptions which still linger in the land, have become almost curiosities of crime. An attempt has been made to assign different species of crime to different tribes, provinces or localities, but here also statements are grievously general and vague, and neither subserve the ends of science nor the needs of social treatment. Some crimes, such as infanticide, are localized; others, such as suicidal opium-poisoning, are more common in opium-producing districts, and some criminal practices are characteristic of certain tribes. Beyond statements of this description we cannot go at present. One thing however, impresses the reader most forcibly in perusing the pages of this book, namely, the atrocity of the deeds of violence told in every page. The very names of crimes which meet the eye in glancing over the table of contents would be sensational, if they were not supported by abundant evidence in the text;—hacking, decapitation, cut-throat, crushing in the thorax, mutilation and torture, are a few of the methods of causing death or pain, which any native of India, on suitable provocation, is ready to adopt. Some of the tragedies related in these pages evidence a truculence

crime lies scattered throughout the administration reports of the different presidencies. It might be collected with advantage to prove some general truths of interest, but the diversity of plan on which the reports are drawn up would render the task a difficult one. It is a pity that imperial uniformity is not insisted on

in these matters. The classification of offences in the penal code is rational and excellent, and, *provided the same degree of division were observed*, would answer the requisite purpose, the aim being to determine the kind and amount of crime in regard to population.

and savagery which are absolutely startling. We are told, for example, at page 394, that "in 1868-69 Shaik Buxee of Chyebassa "murdered his wife and her paramour, and brought their heads "to the Deputy Commissioner in triumph." Dr. Chevers shows that this is no unique circumstance. Can we conceive an act of this sort being perpetrated in quiet England? But the examples of multiple murder, or the wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter of a household, or a number of unoffending persons, whom a murder-madman casually meets, are only exceeded in atrocity by the vengeance sometimes wreaked on a breathless corpse. The idea of a man deliberately defending himself in a court of justice by asserting that it was *in play* that he cut the body of a man killed by another, is revolting and ghastly; but the terrible injuries frequently noted on a murdered corpse show that "an unfortunate may be hacked until the assailant's arm grows weary."

The author is very successful in demonstrating the existence of *instincts* in these matters. Thus, it is curious to note that the injuries inflicted by a blunt weapon are generally found on the head (p. 339), those by a cutting weapon on the throat and neck (p. 387), and those by a stabbing weapon at the heart (p. 343). The instinct of defence is also prominently illustrated, and its value as indicating a homicidal causation demonstrated. (pp. 39, 348, 421, &c.) These are instincts of the more general sort which are not peculiar to India; but there are others which depend upon tradition, custom, social conditions, national character, in short, upon the national habit of thought and life, which he is equally happy in illustrating, while an occasional felicitous quotation or curious note develops a parallel of thought and practice in peoples widely separated by time, distance and origin, which is no less remarkable than true and suggestive.

The treatment of the subjects of human sacrifice, punishment of witches and sorcerers, mutilation, torture, and some of the kinds and modes of poisoning, are particularly interesting in this light, and highly suggestive of the yet unwritten work which at page 11 the author so strongly desiderates, *A history of Crime in India*. We would go further and asks for a medico-legal Max-Müller. We have had books on Comparative Philology, Ethnology and Religion—why not have a work on the Comparative History of Crime? The chapter on tortures is particularly full and interesting, and is the part of the book most in accord with the author's views of what it ought to be, and that on which he has evidently bestowed considerable thought and labour. From a practical point of view, a description of the methods of torture, which *may* be still employed in India is most useful, and, psychologically, the consideration of the methods resorted to by different branches

of the human family, at different times, in different circumstances, and for different purposes, to inflict pain short of causing death, is a most profoundly instructive study. There can be no doubt that many of the methods of torture described are still practised in India, more particularly the various modes of compressing and binding the limbs and chest, and burning and branding. The latter practice still lingers throughout the Bengal Presidency, and prints of the *chillum* and *hata* are by no means rare. We may note, however, in passing, that the "cant phrases" which the author quotes as denoting the different species of torture, are neither correct in grammar nor classical in spelling.

There is one principle or law of comparative crime which is not formulated, though abundantly illustrated, in this volume. It is this—*criminal acts and judicial punishments possess an essential analogy in method and object*. Thus, we find that what were judicial punishments of one nation or time are the criminal acts of another nation or of the same at a later time. The deprivation of life, liberty and property are common to both; and these are the main aims alike of crime and judicial punishment; but the infliction of bodily pain or discomfort has been an authorized punishment, and is a common crime. It is very questionable whether judicial whipping is not a barbarity and anachronism. Starvation has been a punishment and is a crime, and here again the propriety of interfering with the food of prisoners is in the light of history a matter of grave doubt. Social degradation and humiliation are an essential of punishment, and we find at page 73 that these very agencies are employed for revenge or aggression. Retaliation, in the form of removing the offending member—tongue, hand, &c.—or destroying a particular function—sight, speech, &c.—have been prescribed by rude laws, and are still practised in the rough-and-ready village law of India. There is one mode of aggression, however, which the united voice of a community has rarely openly sanctioned or declared—that which sunders the sexual tie, or outrages the sexual or parental feelings—which, we find at page 571, enters the mind and prompts the heart of some human monsters. That which subverts the highest social ends, that which men most value, and the deprivation of which most injures the individual interests, life and its staff, parentage and its necessary relations, property and liberty—these constitute a scale of ends on which social life hinges, whether it declares itself in the shape of common sentiment, written law or criminal act. To these may be added the feelings connected with a future life, whether they manifest themselves as superstition, religion or rationalism understood as a doctrine of progressiveness.

On analysing this subject more carefully, the main elements in the causation of crime are—*means, motives, and character*, the

last taken in its widest sense as applicable to individuals and races.

The means by which crimes are perpetrated are no other than those by which the social life is habitually subserved. The same mental faculties by which the ordinary transactions of life are performed, are those employed when unlawful schemes and acts are accomplished; and the same agents and instruments used in social and industrial life are those which become the weapons of the criminal. It is true that justice and war have their special armories, and that in rude states of society special organizations, and special instruments serve unlawful ends; but while such organizations and instruments as dacoit and thug communities, the tools of forgers and coiners, engines of burglary, firearms, weapons of offence, and poisons, may become the subject of legislation, the great majority of crimes against the person are committed by means of the social and industrial instruments of the country. Crimes such as rape and sodomy, depend on their perpetration for natural organs and functions; crimes such as drowning, throwing into wells, exposure of infants, &c., depend on natural agencies; crimes such as manual strangulation, throttling, assaults by hand or foot, depend on man's personal physical strength, and it is curious to note how few of these occur in India when one man only is concerned; crimes such as hanging, gagging, suffocating, depend on articles in every man's possession; crimes such as skull-breaking, bruising, wounding, stabbing, hacking, &c., depend on the possession of lethal weapons; while crimes such as poisoning, depend on the existence and facility to procure certain agents. Dr. Chevers very properly lays great stress on the facility with which poisons can be procured in India, and he gives some interesting information on the results of examining bunneah's stocks, which ought to be periodically overhauled under legal sanction. He is wrong, however, in stating that there is no law in India prohibitory of the sale of poisons. The Bombay Act VIII of 1866 places restrictions upon the sale of aconite, cocculus, datura, henbane, nux vomica, St. Ignatius bean, calabar bean, white, yellow, red and green arsenic, and corrosive sublimate; and demands a license to be issued by Municipal Commissioners and Collectors, and the registration of sales. The demonstration of the frequency of the practice of poisoning and the prevalence of cattle-poisoning which is fully discussed at pages 128-135 and elsewhere—a practice to which Mr. G. Campbell was the first to draw attention at Azimgurh in 1853—make out a very strong case for a law to regulate the sale of poisons throughout India, and of a very stringent kind. Poisons abound in every hedge-row, though the traditional and common poisons are not numerous. This, however, is a subject demanding and permitting of immediate legislative action.

As for other weapons and agents of crime, the information contained in this work is full and correct, and it becomes a question whether the *lathees*, swords, spears, halberds and bill-hooks, so universally in the hands of natives, might not be suppressed (except in so far as they are required for industrial purposes and defence against wild animals), and their possession rendered a criminal offence. As for the *lathee* and its congeners, the *banree* and *lohar-bundee*, these can only be used for purposes of offence or defence, and as at least one-half of the injuries which come under the cognizance of the police are caused by these weapons, it becomes an important question whether their possession does not encourage crimes of violence.* Dr. Chevers very truly writes:—

‘Notwithstanding the character for mildness of temper which they have gained from superficial observers, deceived by their manners, and unacquainted with their habits and customs of thought and action, the common people of India are scarcely less apt to conclude their quarrels by severe wounding than are the more impetuous denizens of European countries. This probably arises from the circumstance which has been more or less operative in determining nearly every homicide since the first—the readiness with which an offensive weapon always comes to hand. Few Bengalis are without a *lathee* (bamboo stick), *dao* (bill-hook), and perhaps a *codalee* (adze or large hoe), a *hussolee* (sickle), a *kolharee* (axe or hatchet), and a *bullum* or *sain* (spear); and nearly every Hindustani has his sword and his iron-bound cudgel. The *gurassa* or

* The following remarks were penned by Sir J. P. Grant, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in his minute upon the Indigo Commission Report:—

“The same two members recommend the general disarming of all natives in Bengal, but without taking away clubs. The long heavy iron-bound club in use is a formidable lethal weapon; and a disarming in Bengal which would not touch the most common lethal weapon used in affrays, would be operative, I fear, only for harm. It would disarm the peaceable man, and allow the professional bravo of the country to carry his own peculiar arms. I would rather reverse the operation. I don’t see in the evidence anything to show that the mass of the people in Bengal, a quiet and well-behaved race, should be disarmed. I should like to see them much more ready and more stout in self-defence than they are. But I would disarm and punish the

hired clubmen, and I would punish all who employ them without exception of classes.”

The amount of lethal weapons which may be found in the possession of an Indian people, may be gathered from the following. Up to the 12th of February 1859 the results of the disarming of Oudh were:—

Cannon	...	...	378
Firearms	...	...	134,517
Swords	...	...	444,074
Spears	...	...	32,111
Miscellaneous arms	...	...	364,976
Total	...	...	976,056

The arm-bearing population was estimated at two millions, and the work of disarming was expected to last for years. (*First Report on the Administration of Oudh.*)

The total number of weapons collected from a part of the Province of the Punjab in 1858-59 was 109,669. (*Administration Report for 1858-59.*)

gundrasa—a kind of bill or battle-axe—and the *koorpee*, or hoe, are common both in the North-West and in Bengal.' (p. 337.)

Other weapons are named and described elsewhere, and when we state that the beak of an adjutant is included amongst them, our readers will admit that the list is tolerably complete. The descriptions of injury caused by the several kinds of lethal weapons are correct, but scant justice has been done to the lathee-caused lesions, and the distinctions between them and other injuries of a contused character. More particularly, the lesions caused by wheels and conveyances in motion (not uncommon) are omitted, and the notice of gunshot wounds is very meagre. These latter are not so rare in civil practice, especially in some parts of the North-West and Punjab, as the author states (p. 452); and very interesting questions with regard to the relation between wound, weapon and ammunition, may in some cases be established. But crime does not often employ special lethal weapons, and when we read that it is a common practice in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories to pound the head and face with a stone, any attempt to work a reform by modifying or removing the agencies of criminal acts is not hopeful. Medical jurisprudence takes cognizance of every mode of violence which may extinguish life, whether it be of accidental, suicidal or homicidal origin. We, accordingly, find in this volume much interesting information on the injuries inflicted by wild animals, and some practical information on the distinction between these and other lesions. It is appalling how much life is yearly lost in Bengal by these means, and the statistics of the deaths by snake-

In the North-Western Provinces "under the operations of the Arms Act XXXVIII of 1857, 1,707,256 arms of all kinds were collected from a population of 14,306,428 male persons. The sorts of arms were as follows:—Ordnance 435, fire-arms 134,733, swords 711,017, spears 247,794, and daggers 509,777."

In 1859-60 it was calculated that about 1,432,906 weapons of all descriptions remained unsurrendered. Those surrendered were noted as—

Ordnance	...	...	795
Firearms	...	...	307,372
Swords	...	...	1,421,223
Spears	...	...	664,015
Daggers and other lethal weapons	...	...	1,215,275
Total	...	...	3,631,180

By Act XXXI of 1860 a man may be disarmed by a Magistrate or Police officer, "if in the judgment of such Magistrate or other officer it is dangerous to the public peace to allow such person to go armed or carry arms." The arms contemplated by this Act are firearms, bayonets, swords, daggers, spears and spear-heads, also percussion caps, sulphur, gunpowder, or other ammunition.

The building of the long swift boats used by dacoits on the Bengal rivers was prohibited. This is a good illustration of attacking crime though the means employed for its perpetration.

bite, which Dr. Fayrer is now collecting, are most startling (p. 370). The problem of prevention here is very perplexing, and the history of rewards for tigers, wolves, snakes, &c., a curious and disappointing one. It is to be feared that time, civilization and cultivation, are the only radical cure of this national curse, and even these agencies can hardly avail against poisonous snakes. Dr. Fayrer's labours are in this view highly philanthropic, though he has as yet failed to show grounds for one single species of effort of any promise.

The study of the *motives* of crime carry us deep into social problems of the intensest nicety. These may be of two sorts: extrinsic, or those derived from surrounding circumstances; and intrinsic, or those dependent on character, mental and moral organization; and these again depend on the modifications and tone of mental and moral states wrought in the individual and race by the attritions of the continuous existence of both. A very cursory glance through the book gives the impression that the sexual passions, and peculiar sexual institutions of India, supply motives for by far the majority of crimes of violence which occur in this country, and this impression is more than confirmed by a closer perusal of, and reflection upon its pages. This is a delicate topic, but it is a cardinal one and needs bold and plain handling. A squeamish prudery is misplaced where the subject demands exposure and reform. In a word, the feelings with which women are regarded by natives of India are gross and purely animal; the social sexual relations founded on them are barbarous; the marriage tie, not based as it ought to be on mutual love and esteem, of spontaneous and reciprocal growth, is painfully loose; the wife is a concubine, the widow too often a harlot. The child becomes a wife before the sexual passions are fully developed, and the widow who has them in full strength is barred from their gratification. Continence on the part of the male is a rare virtue, and on the part of the female a matter of restraint, watching and confinement. Even if this is not universally true—a position which it would be at once cruel and unjust to advance—the relations of the sexes in India are radically wrong, and fully account for the large share of this volume which treats of crimes of sexual origin, and the number of a variety of criminal practices and acts, attributable directly and indirectly to this source. Dr. Chevers does not mince matters. His first illustration of the crimes characteristic of the country is a murder “committed by the husband or paramour in a fit of jealousy.” (p. 2). “The belief in woman’s virtue,” it is said at page 6, “does not exist among the masses of India.” “Sexual jealousy is probably the most frequent cause of homicide among Musalmans; criminal abortion and child-murder are rife among the unhappy class of Hindu widows.” (p. 10)

"A man excited to madness by jealousy, or by *galee* (foul abuse), seizes a heavy weapon and with from five to twenty strokes literally hews his victim to pieces." (p. 346) "We have already seen that in a very large proportion of the recorded cases, this mode of death (hacking the neck) has been inflicted as the punishment of sexual crime suspected or discovered." (p. 390) "By far the larger proportion of murders of this kind (cut throat) which come under judicial and medical investigation in India, are to be traced to feelings of sexual jealousy and injured honour." (p. 417) Various kinds of mutilation and torture are traced to the same motives, more particularly cutting off the ears, nose and other members, in accordance with the maxim *Parte in quâ peccatur, in eâ etiam punietur*. Instances of rape are said to be of great frequency in India. "In a country like India, where true morality is almost unknown, but where the laws of society exercise the most rigorous and vigilant control imaginable over the conduct of females, and where six-sevenths of the widows, whatever their age or position in life may be, are absolutely debarred from re-marriage, and are compelled to rely upon the uncertain support of their relatives, it is scarcely surprising that great crimes should be frequently practised to conceal the results of immorality, and that the procuring of criminal abortion should especially be an act of almost daily commission, and should have become a trade among certain of the lower midwives or *dhaees*." (p. 712.) These scraps have been culled from the book to show the general impression which the author's research and thought forced upon him, but almost every page contains one or more cases of barbarity or cruelty in which sexual passion or jealousy was the cause; and who can tell how many a poor erring wretch receives her quietus in the seclusion of the zenana by a dose of opium, arsenic or dhatura, for "loving not wisely but too well." The number of cases of strangulation and suffocation which are attributable to these causes, is very remarkable.

A very affecting note is appended at page 603, showing how the desire of a girl-wife to return to the house of her father and mother may arouse the husband to murderous fury. Refusal to permit sexual connection is another often assigned cause of murder; while killing the wife or paramour, or both, in cases of jealousy or adultery, is very common.

The precise shapes and results which the motive assumes and causes are as follows:—

1. *Rape*.—This is the purest manifestation of lawless and uncontrolled passion, and is owing to a deficient respect for woman and a deficient sense of the reason and objects of sexual union. How common the crime is in India, this volume attests; and the violation of children is not to be wondered at, however repulsive

the thought, when the espousal of infants is a social practice. It is refreshing indeed to read at page 687 of instances of womanly resistance, and the manifestation of the instinct of the defence of virtue—of rare occurrence, we fear, in the East. The training of children as prostitutes, and the infamous practices of procuresses, do not come so immediately under medico-legal notice, but these are criminal practices which lurk under the quiet surface of rural social life. A note at page 6 alludes to this practice as associated with child-stealing, but we know that the same infamy is, even in the Lower Provinces, associated with child-selling.

2. *Unnatural crime.*—The reason of this monstrosity need not be specified, but its prevalence is strongly declared in the volume under notice. In a masterly speech before the Supreme Legislative Council, Mr. F. Stephen, the legal member, lately gave a masterly account of these practices, to which Dr. Chevers does not allude. The connection of unnatural crime with infanticide, which is an undoubted fact, has not been brought out so strongly as it might.

3. *Criminal abortion.*—This practice is most frequently resorted to in the case of Hindu widows, and the reason is plain. A very valuable note on the methods adopted for its procurement, by Baboo Kannylall Dey, is printed at page 715, in which two circumstances of the greatest importance are apparent: 1st, the fact that the methods employed for perpetrating the crime are chiefly mechanical; and 2nd, that, in order to get an insight into any Indian crime, it is necessary to prevail upon the professors of the practice to reveal the traditional, customary and, in many cases, hereditary modes of performing it. This, in fact, is the approver system, which has proved of such practical value in the case of thuggee and dacoity, and ought to be pursued in the treatment of all organized crime, such as infanticide, cattle poisoning, &c.

4. *Infanticide.*—This practice obtains under two sets of circumstances: 1st, in cases of illegitimacy when widows and their paramours are the instigators, and the sex of the victim is not of much moment in determining the crime; 2nd, in the case of female infants among Rajputs, Sikhs, Jats and some Muhammadan tribes. The motives to this crime are complex, though mainly, the small value and low estimate of the female sex, and the fear that women will bring disgrace on the family. This, we are convinced, is the essential reason of the crime, but other collateral feelings contribute, such as the expenses of marriage, the sense of being under a moral and pecuniary obligation to a son-in-law, who, aware of the disgrace entailed by religious and traditional feelings, upon a daughter's attaining puberty unmarried, practises upon the feelings of the father for purposes of extortion; the insane sense of honour which will not brook the thought of

a daughter marrying beneath her, or remaining unmarried ; and the conceit and exclusiveness of a small tribe or caste which disdains intermarriage with another. The law of population which provides for an excess of the female sex, coupled with the necessity of marriage before puberty, constitute another fundamental ground of infanticide. Polygamy also, as Dr. Chevers remarks, especially among the Kulin Brahmans, and polyandry, as among the Koonds, prompt to the crime, because both practices abolish a mutual and reciprocal sense in the parent of the duty of supporting the offspring. But irrepressible sexual passion in the male remains, and leads to two consequent crimes—child-stealing and barter, and unnatural crimes. How strange the “sense of honour,” which instigates and tolerates two of the worst and most unnatural crimes in the whole category. A very interesting paper by Mr. E. J. Atkinson, published in a volume of Selections by the Government of the North-West Provinces (Vol. III, No. II), to which Dr. Chevers does not allude, gives a good account of the motives and consequences of this crime, and the value of statistics in investigating it. The history of infanticide and the different methods applied for its suppression, as given by Dr. Chevers, is very meagre and sketchy, and the remark applies here, as in other parts of the book, that in place of a digest we have a series of entertaining scraps skilfully woven together. An outline of anything, if not exhaustive as to details, should be comprehensive as to leading facts and principles, and while the author cautions us against expecting a complete history of crime, we have every reason to look for a well-jointed and complete skeleton. This criticism applies to the account given of thuggee, dacoity, and the organized bands of robbers of the North West, the Punjab, and Central India.

5.—*Adultery, seduction and incest*—direct products of the sexual passion—do not come under the notice of the medical jurist, and are mentioned here only for the sake of completeness. The latter infamy is not unfrequent in Assam at the present time.

6.—*Prostitution* has a history and social importance in India which have not been as yet sufficiently realized or studied, and the experience of every medical man will confirm the assertion, which is proved by the imperfect statistics already gathered, more particularly in dispensaries, which go to show that syphilis is accountable for a vast amount of serious disease in India. To enter into the discussion of the questions of social reform suggested by these general remarks, would be to undertake a vast labour. The general aims are, however, very plain. They consist in raising woman, by education and a judicious relaxation of social restraint,—in elevating the social estimate of woman,—in permitting a girl to become a woman in the highest and complet-

est sense of the term before she becomes a wife or mother, and in sanctioning and encouraging widow-marriage. If these aims are steadily held in view and reduced to practice, the maxim of Manu "that at no time is woman fit to be trusted with liberty" will lapse, and woman will become a helpmeet for man, and will be valued and respected accordingly. The efforts of the Brahmoists to educate and raise woman are only second in importance to their acknowledgment of a single beneficent deity.

Sexual motives cover such a large area of the causation of crime, that the remainder can be more briefly disposed of.

Next in importance come motives connected with property. Both landed and personal property furnish abundant causes of criminal violence. As regards the first, the fights between rival zemindars or between zemindars and indigo-factories resulted, not many years ago, in many a broken skull and many a lost life. Owing to beneficent legislation and a more searching magisterial influence these have become things of the past; but the loss of life and limb they occasioned, cannot be sufficiently appreciated from any written record. These transactions furnish a chapter in the history of crime in India which has not yet been written. The power of motives to violent deeds connected with land is painfully illustrated in Ireland, and exact parallels are to be found in the India of 1857. The factory assistant or zemindar's naib represented in India the obnoxious agent. Boundary quarrels still cause many a broken limb, scalp, or skull. Last hot weather we heard a Nuddea planter anxiously enquiring if a certain bheel were dry. On asking the reason of his anxiety, we were told that this bheel only became capable of cultivation in seasons of exceptional drought, and that when the time for reaping came, and the water still stood high, and the grass tufts which mark off the separate lots were not very easily determined, a "naval engagement" was certain to happen and a lot of skulls sure to be broken. The removal of boundary grass-plots is a great cause of *lathee* warfare, but the aggrieved are now beginning to resort to our courts of justice, more accessible and numerous than formerly. The social advantage of sub-divisions is, in this respect, immense, though still *lathee* war on ricefields in harvest is not rare. Dr. Chevers in connection with this mentions cattle-trespass, means of irrigation, water rights and fish-traps, as causes of fatal squabbles. The various cattle-pound laws, which are at this moment being consolidated and revised, tend to remove the first of these motives.

Personal property has been ever the motive of organized and individual robbery, and the practices of dacoity, thuggee, road-poisoning and marauding gangs have this as their object. Perhaps no more common or cruel feature than killing women and

children for the sake of their ornaments, which is so often illustrated in the book, exists in the annals of Indian crime. A great cause of robbery with violence is the practice of hoarding and concealing coin, and converting wealth into ornaments; and the establishment of Savings Banks has a deeper meaning as an agent of social reform than merely encouraging thrift and rendering the waste of hardly-earned and carefully-hoarded coin on marriages and *shrads* (funeral feasts) unnecessary. The treatment of thieves is one of the most interesting subjects taken up in the book. The lopping-off of the heads of wall-piercers is described very well in a note at page 389. At page 357 we are told the methods of disposing of thieves.

1.—A thief may be beheaded while in the act of committing a robbery.

2.—He may be captured, and then beheaded by the people of the house or village.

3.—He may die from wounds received in the act of committing a robbery; and his accomplices, unable to remove his body, may cut off the head to disguise it.

4.—Or, his accomplices may decapitate him while living.'

The torture and beating of thieves is elsewhere abundantly illustrated, and the practices of the police, so often alluded to and so completely exposed in the Report of the Madras Torture Commission, are only an index of the village Lynch law, and in consonance with the inclinations of the people. The appeal to constituted law is now happily becoming more understood and resorted to. The subject of road murder by poisoning is very instructively and exhaustively handled at pages 148-179. The crime is *still* very prevalent throughout India on all the main roads, more particularly those frequented by pilgrims. The grand trunk road has not yet lost its old reputation, and the traveller is still liable to the operations of professional miscreants who instead of accosting him with the *phansi* or strangulating bow-string, proffer pleasant companionship, and the fatal *sherbut* or sweet-meat containing largely the stupefying or fatal pounded *datoora* seeds.

Deeds of violence are often prompted by feelings of superstition and religion. As regards the former, the practices with regard to witchcraft, sorcery and *jadu*, or demoniacal influence or possession, are abundantly exemplified. The author talks at page 6 of "wild and irradicable superstition" as a factor of crime. A valuable note at page 816 indicates where any one interested in this class of motives may obtain abundant material for study, and throughout the book attention to these superstitions and unusual motives is very properly recommended. Examples of murder and torture under the dominance

of a belief in witchcraft, and of the ordeal for witchcraft, are very numerous, and may be found scattered pretty numerously throughout the book. Nor is the influence of a degrading religion less marked in the causation of crime. A mythology, whose gods "delight in blood" (p. 812), and are represented as committing unnatural crime (p. 705), can only have one effect upon the mind of a people—moral obtuseness or actual degradation. "There is no country," Dr. Chevers remarks at page 810, "in which the line between *outrageous fanaticism* and *religious monomania* is so indistinct as we find it to be in India. Whether the religious impostor is knave or madman, or a compound of both, or whether superstitious enthusiasm, acting upon a weak mind and oriental imagination, may not occasionally prompt the rarely very scrupulous native to the commission of wild atrocities, are questions of no small difficulty which can only be decided by weighing carefully the facts of each case as it occurs."

The chapter on human sacrifice contains much curious and important information, and it is worthy of note that the author writes of *human sacrifice by decapitation* as an existing practice (p. 408), and says that there are "strong reasons for believing that there is scarcely a district in India in which human sacrifice is not still practised occasionally as a religious rite" (p. 410). Doubtless, the old sanguinary expiatory ideas still lurk in the breasts of the masses, and in face of impending famine or pestilence, when men's apprehensions are most deeply stirred, the offering of a human victim to the power which can inflict hunger or disease, instead of the usual goat or buffalo, is not a violent or unnatural step. Ideas of this nature, formulated under the terms sacrifice and atonement, are essential axioms in comparative religion, and their refinement is only to be hoped for as part and parcel of a refinement of national thought and habit. To this end, general education, and more particularly education in the physical sciences, and the fostering of a belief in general laws and a benevolent God, are the great and only means.

Some very interesting notes are thrown together with regard to the inhuman practices of carrion eating or cannibal Aghor-punts (p. 810). These monstrous perversions of human will are curious studies in psychology, and very extraordinary circumstances occasionally crop up which tend to show that anomalies in crime of this sort depend on some deeper motive than individual craze, or the loathsome abnormities of a particular sect of fanatic miscreants. We read in the report of the Madras Foujdary Adawlut for 1856, an account of a horrible tragedy which occurred in Trichinopoly:—"One case of murder was attended with circumstances so extraordinary as would almost have induced a belief in the

insanity of the prisoner but for the strong evidence to the contrary. The victim of this murder was a boy of sixteen, who was sitting close to the high road when the prisoner came up to him, caught hold of him by the lock of hair at the back of his head, dragged him a short distance, severed the head from the body, and drank the warm blood of his victim. The second witness, a lad of the same age as the deceased, ran horrified to the village which was close by, and gave the alarm. The third, fourth and fifth witnesses immediately came to the spot and endeavoured to capture the prisoner; he threatened them with the bill-hook he still held in his hand, as they went for further assistance. On their return, they found the prisoner cutting the head of the deceased open, and eating the brains. On the witnesses again approaching, the prisoner fled, leaving the bill-hook behind, but keeping hold of the deceased's head which he subsequently threw at the fifth witness." We are not told what the caste and occupation of this cannibal was. Within the last twelve months we have read of a young Musalman eating the brains and liver of his dying father, and heard of a Brahman of Seeb-saugor gnawing the face a man who interrupted his prayers at the instigation of Siva. There is something in these cases which we commend to Dr. Chevers' notice. They abundantly justify his dicta at page 820, that "what may appear to the European observer as absolutely irrational *singularity of conduct* on the part of a native, is not to be viewed as insanity, except upon a full consideration of the customs and modes of thinking of the natives, as well as of the minute details of the particular cases under scrutiny;" that, "although all human desires probably tend towards nearly the same objects, the purposes of a native are wont to be effected by trains of thought and action so utterly dissimilar to those by which our own are wrought out that we must not always expect to be able to follow him in his mental operations, or allow ourselves to charge him with madness when his singularity or his craft takes his conduct somewhat beyond the scrutiny of our reason." If we would administer righteous judgment and justice, we must master these trains of thought; and, if we would radically reform the people, we must chasten them and supplant them with rational views of social obligation. Here is the spring and fountain head of crime, and this must be cleansed, if we would have the stream of life and social habit pure.

Beyond these influences, there lies a field of insufficient or perverted motives, and motives modified by drugs, intoxication, congregational excitement, and a want of all motive which leads us to the domain of pure insanity. On all of these subjects, Dr. Chevers is full and thoughtful. Want of space forbids us to follow him into this profoundly interesting territory, and we can only

commend it to the study of our readers. The illustrations which he gives of men running 'amok,' "revenging themselves on mankind in general," and after satiating their vengeance "continuing their havoc upon unoffending persons," are many and important. Dr. Chevers thinks that "carefully sifted, it is probable that the generality of these cases would be found to be dependent upon the use of intoxicating drugs." Then comes the practical question of responsibility, and on this subject there can be only one opinion—that the man who nerves himself to deeds of blood with hemp or opium, or by the habitual use of these drugs paralyses his sense of the sacredness of human life, merits no mercy at the hand of law. Even in the case of violence committed under the influence of severe pain or delirium, it would be dangerous to society to establish the precedent that homicide in such circumstances is excusable. (p. 801.) Natives of this country are very ready to grasp at plausible defences of unjustifiable deeds. On the other hand, punishment for motiveless deeds, if the proof is clear and the will of the individual is uncontrollably held by influences not of the culprit's own seeking, can never redound to the credit of law, or prove of social advantage. The author very reasonably urges that many of the acts committed on trivial motives are probably really due to others of a more serious nature, which are concealed from a false sense of honour and dread of exposure (p. 429); of this sort, doubtless, are the murders of wives for "refusing to prepare tobacco," "delay in giving water to drink," "not giving him a light for his cheroot," "kicking the dish which held his food," &c. &c.

After all the influences determining to crime, depending on a man's surroundings and the social conditions under which he lives, have been told, there still remains a study of the man himself—what he is by nature, inherited disposition and education, in other words, a study of the national characteristics which may predispose him to criminal acts. Dr. Chevers has not overlooked them. They are—disregard of the value of human life, slavish adherence to custom, timidity including guile, evasiveness, plausible placidity, a sneaking yielding to moral or physical force, want of principle or straightforward means of attaining ends, untruthfulness, irritability, sensuality, supersitition, &c.

The causes to which these characteristics may be traced, are not far to seek. They are in short the uncertainty of life and the small importance of individuals as units in the community.

The uncertainty of life in India is an indisputable fact, and the constant sacrifice of life is greater than it is in Europe. Disease and famine are ever liable to sweep off thousands of mortals. Fever, small-pox, cholera, a cyclone wave, a drought, an inundation, or a famine may decimate a village, district or province. Wild beasts and snakes cause thousands of deaths yearly; sudden storms may

cause the destruction of travellers by water, and lightning strokes number their victims by scores. A strong and well-minded government holds back the arm of war and prevents the forays of hill tribes and marauders; but history tells us that this third agent of wholesale death added formerly its quota of yearly victims to the ravages of pestilence and death. Illustrations of the small esteem in which human life is held, abound in this book. The wholesale murders, the hacking of corpses, the murdering of wife, (p. 388) or child (p. 350) for the purpose of imputing the deed to another, the wounding of self for the same end; the committing of suicide on account of a stomach-ache, or some paltry chagrin—all indicate this dominant feeling. Measures which tend to remove this uncertainty—sanitation, medical care, political and social security—derive from this consideration a new value.

A very practical point hinges on this want of a proper sense of the value of life—namely the importance as evidence of “dying declarations.” We subscribe most entirely to all that Dr. Chevers writes on the subject.

‘While it may be questionable whether, even in the most enlightened mind, all hope of recovery can always be dispelled by the sense of immediately impending death, and whether in the surprise, the excitement, the agony, the confusion, and the failing consciousness which result from the infliction of a deadly injury, the judgment and the passions can be sufficiently calm for the delivery of a testimony which deserves to be received hereafter as absolutely and unimpeachably true,—especially when it may be doubted whether the wounded person is not utterly unprincipled and false by habit; it is fortunate that this ancient legal superstition has not been brought to bear upon a people who have, in repeated instances, committed murder, and even suicide, with the design of bringing down present and eternal punishment upon an enemy, who do not recognise veracity as a principle of morality, and who almost invariably answer as they believe that they are expected to answer; who meet inevitable death with an apathy which has been mistaken for stoicism, but whose cry of—“I am dying, I am dying! Death, Death!”—is almost daily evoked by ordinary circumstances of misfortune or pain.”

Then, as regards the importance of individuals in the social system, every measure and law which tend to enhance the social weight of individuals, education, encouragements of agriculture and commerce, cautious concessions towards self-government—these all tend to enhance the appreciation of life, and in the same degree to diminish deeds of violence or outrage. More emphatically, the raising of the status of women is, in the face of the considerations above adduced, an imperative social necessity. The influence of *custom* in the perpetration of crime is

demonstrated at page 11, and Mr. John Strachey's remarks, quoted at page 577, with regard to infanticide, illustrate the strength of this peculiarity of national and social life. As a general principle, the feature of repetition is a sign of low mental status, and the influence of the incessant inheritance and reproduction of rude, lawless and unenlightened modes of thought and life, in keeping alive criminal tendencies, is unquestionable. Adaptiveness is, on the other hand, a sign of the higher mental and social life, and the only conservatism that is legitimate, is the conservatism of purity, high aspirations and lofty social aims and habits. Unfortunately in India caste prejudices mean a conservatism of superstition, ignorance, exclusiveness, and of feelings and habits inconsistent with an advanced civilization, and the sooner the irrational cry of "let it alone" is smothered, the better.

Dr. Chevers remarks (p. 2) that "various as are the modes of effecting and of concealing crime in different countries, a large experience will always show that a really new crime is an unexampled event in the criminal annals of any land." This amounts to saying that human nature is the same everywhere, and that differences in country, climate, race and social conditions modify the essential and fundamental criminal tendencies of mankind only as regards means and motives—the details of crime. This general principle shadows forth the groundwork of the science of jurisprudence, and the more repetitive the character of a people, the more valuable, in a scientific or previsionary aspect, the record of their acts, whether criminal or not. That overt acts are an index of thought and character is a mere truism, but an invaluable one in all psychological enquiries.

The timidity of the population of India is, in part, a sign of physical feebleness and, in part, of moral weakness. This trait is not inconsistent with the ferocity which is often manifested against the weak and unprotected. "The manner in which often," Dr. Chevers writes at page 451, "a crowd of Bengalis fall upon a victim of their displeasure, and beat and tear him into pieces with sticks, fists, feet, hands and any weapon which may happen to have been brought or caught up, until the body lies in the midst of them, a mere bloody, featureless, disjointed, broken mass, is scarcely characteristic of the reputed mildness of the national character." The details of hacking women, children and defenceless men, fall under the same law. Timidity engenders a nervousness, irritability, rapid resentment, suspicion, cunning, want of mental tone or power, which it is difficult to understand. On the physical peculiarities of the Bengali, Dr. Chevers has some very just remarks :—

'The Bengali lives upon a plain diet, in which a very small proportion of nitrogenous material is contained, but his food is often

scanty in quantity, and probably consists of the worst kind of rice, fish, lentils; he works hard, he is badly lodged and badly clothed; he is greatly exposed to severe vicissitudes of temperature; he is, perhaps, an opium-eater or ganjah-smoker, and is probably a drunkard, consuming the worst of all spirituous liquors in large quantities; scurvy very often lurks in his system; his internal organs have suffered more or less in structure from the above causes. His body is lean and anemiated; he has been habituated to sexual excess from his boyhood, and if the inhabitant of a town, he probably suffered from syphilis and from the use of mercury employed with the most reckless carelessness.' (p. 524.)

Add to this malarious and miasmatic influences, the depressing effect of frequent fevers and early marriages, and the causes of physical degeneration have been all told. The stolidity and placidity of the native of India are an evidence rather of the constitutional debility which precludes a rational or acute interest in life, enterprise or departure from habit, than the masterly inactivity which proceeds from a consciousness of strength. Improve the physical vigour of the native of India, and infuse a strong mental tone, and the vindictiveness, untruthfulness, cunning, fraud and deceit, will disappear under the influence of improved social conditions and a healthier social life.

Dr. Chevers is careful to guard the reader against "the most facile and the most fatal error into which delineations of national character have fallen in all ages—that of representing prevalent crimes as national customs" (preface, p. iii), and insists that the graphic sketches which he quotes from the masterly pens of Mackintosh and Macaulay, descriptive of the character of the Rajput and Bengali, have "been taken from the same stand-point—the road which leads to the jail." This is very true, but the elements which combine to produce criminals and criminal acts are deeply interwoven in the character and social life of a people, and these very criminal acts are the most prominent and pronounced expressions of the features of character and social life, and furnish a principal share in the induction from which general notions of the character of a race or nation are formed, and thought taken for social amelioration. The bright side of national character is to be sought for in industry, commerce, family happiness, social quietude, the care of the sick and poor, hospitality, charity, earnest and rational religion, enlightened self-government, conformance to law, cleanliness of person and habitations, and so on; but the character written on the road to the jail is at once the most telling and useful. Would that in India we had only for contemplation and admiration well-tilled fields, generous landlords and contented peasants, well-filled granaries, empty courts, a pure and rational worship, manufactories, rivers bearing produce to supply

the wants of other lands, road and rail contributing to the same end, affectionate and continent husbands, educated, industrious and intelligent wives, schools, play-grounds, places of harmless amusement, dispensaries and almshouses; and no riots, land disputes, jealousies, prostitution, jails, hangings, dirty cities, pestilential swamps, indecent and noisy worship of malevolent deities, and the host of other national frailties so faithfully reproduced in this volume. So long as things remain as they are, we cannot afford to lose the "strong and untremulous hand which dares to lay bare unhesitatingly the vices of society."

We have thus, by accepting the author's declared aims while following an arrangement of our own, subjected this volume to a somewhat severe test; and the conclusion which every reader must form is, that it supplies a positive want, and must prove of the greatest value to the technical medical jurist and the social reformer. Many details might have been compressed, more particularly long newspaper reports which are hardly suited to a purely scientific work, and other subjects might have been treated more comprehensively and systematically; but, as it is, the volume is a splendid repertory of most important social facts available largely for purposes of social reforms. Its shape and get-up are creditable to the enterprise of the publishers, though the numerous misprints, besides those noticed in the long list of *errata*, evidence some hurry in its issue or carelessness in its revision. These are, however, trivial, and the work reflects the greatest honour alike on its author and its publishers. We hope, not so much for the sake of the industry, talent and philanthropy of the author and the public spirit of the publishers, as for the public good, that the work will find a place in the library of every judge, magistrate, civil surgeon and police officer, in India.

ART. III.—THE PROBLEM OF CIVILIZATION IN INDIA.

BY the recognition of the truth that political and social events are the data and facts of a natural science, subordinate in their sequence to a law of cause and effect, the actual condition of every separate community of people, with its relation to the past on the one hand and to the future on the other, has been converted into a possible subject of scientific investigation. India of the present day, just consolidated into a vast empire under English rule, affords a singularly well-marked field for such an inquiry, but the labour incidental to it would be enormous, and probably sufficient materials do not as yet exist in a prepared state to enable any one man to carry it out with completeness. There are, however, circumstances connected with the situation of the people of this country relative to their governors, which admit of being classed in a group by themselves, and seem to have importance enough to challenge something more than passing observation. An attempt to possess ourselves of their true significance may not be without interest.

The affairs of this country are administered, and the public interests of the people are cared for, by a body of foreigners whose civilization manifestly differs from that of the governed, and is, without the possibility of question, considerably in advance of it. So much the better undoubtedly for the subject people, as far as the operation of State rule can legitimately extend. But there is a point beyond which it cannot reach, if at all, without doing mischief; and that point lies very little below the uppermost surface of society. We need hardly remark that in all cases where the Government is the creation of the people themselves, and subject to their control, the degree of enlightenment which it displays in its action may be safely enough taken as an index of the general condition of the community at large. The Government is then only the highest result of the natural social forces active in the country, and must correspond intimately with all other of their manifestations. But that is clearly not so in the case before us. Here, the Government is essentially foreign, motivated from abroad, while the state of indigenous society is necessarily the product of home influences, over which the Government has no direct control, and with which it is not in any immediate relation. Whether this country is to advance in a career of progressive civilization or not must depend solely upon the nature and activity of these influences.

NOTE.—The substance of this paper was delivered at the Bethune Society formed the subject of a lecture which a few months ago.

This is an affair in which the foreign governing class is very nearly powerless. It rests, we may say, entirely with the people themselves.

We would especially direct the attention of our native readers to this point, because it is certain that the Oriental mind is prone to entertain exaggerated notions as to the powers and capabilities of the State in all respects, and the individual members of an Indian community are little apt at realizing a sense of their own responsibilities relative to matters of public welfare. It would be an unfortunate mistake on their part, if, on a survey of the great works effected under English rule in India, they flattered themselves into a belief that their country had attained the civilization of which these are distinctive features. Mr. Buckle has demonstrated very completely the frailty of this sort of reasoning by the example which he has drawn from the history of Spain. It is impossible to condense his narrative, without seriously impairing its force, but a few extracts from it will serve to exhibit the relevancy of Mr. Buckle's argument to our present topic. After describing graphically the "darkness and apathy of the Spanish nation" prevailing in the beginning of the eighteenth century, he says:—"The only remedy for this seemed to be foreign aid, and Spain "being now ruled by a foreign dynasty that aid was called in." He then mentions some of the more prominent educational measures of the Government and continues:—"Many other "and similar steps were taken by the Government, whose indefatigable exertions would deserve our warmest praise, if we "did not know how impossible it is for any Government to "enlighten a nation, and how absolutely essential it is that the "desire for improvement should in the first place proceed from the "people themselves. No progress is real, unless it is spontaneous. "The movement, to be effective, must emanate from within, and not "from without; it must be due to general causes acting on the "whole country, and not to the mere will of a few powerful individuals. During the eighteenth century all the means of improvement were lavishly supplied to the Spaniards, but the "Spaniards did not want to improve. They were satisfied "with themselves; they were sure of the accuracy of their own "opinions; they were proud of the notions which they inherited, "and which they did not wish either to increase or to diminish. "Being unable to doubt, they were therefore unable to enquire."

And finally Mr. Buckle, in the course of recapitulating the principal facts previously detailed by him, says:—

"If we now review the transactions which I have narrated, and "consider them as a whole, extending from the accession of Philip "V to the death of Charles III, over a period of nearly ninety "years, we shall be struck with wonder at their unity, at the regu-

“larity of their march, and at their apparent success. Looking at them merely in a political point of view, it may be doubted if such vast and uninterrupted progress has ever been seen in any country either before or since. For three generations there was no pause on the part of the Government—not one re-action, not one sign of halting. Improvement upon improvement and reform upon reform followed each other in quick succession. * * * These would have been great deeds in any country; in such a country as Spain they were marvellous. Of them I have given an abridged and therefore an imperfect account, but still sufficient to show how the Government laboured to diminish superstition, to check bigotry, to stimulate intellect, to promote industry, and to rouse the people from their death-like slumber. * * * They who believe that a Government can civilize a nation, and that legislators are the cause of social progress, will naturally expect that Spain reaped permanent benefit from those liberal maxims which now for the first time were put into execution.”

Before we proceed to give Mr. Buckle's comparison how far actual events corresponded with this hypothetical expectation, it will be well to ask, How would these passages read if “India” were put therein for “Spain,” and the “nineteenth” for the “eighteenth” century? Would the verisimilitude of the picture be altogether destroyed by the change of subject? If not—if the results of English rule for the last eighty or ninety years in India are in any degree co-ordinate with the Spanish events of Mr. Buckle's narrative, then the conclusions immediately enunciated by that most able writer have a significance for the people of this country which cannot be too carefully borne in mind. These are his words:—

“The fact, however, is that such a policy, wise as it appeared, was of no avail, simply because it ran counter to the whole train of preceding circumstances. It was opposed to the habits of the national mind, and was introduced into a state of society not yet ripe for it. No reform can produce real good, unless it is the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative. In Spain, during the eighteenth century, foreign influence, and the complications of foreign politics, bestowed enlightened rulers upon an unenlightened country. The consequence was that for a time great things were done. Evils were removed; grievances were redressed; many important improvements were introduced; and a spirit of toleration was exhibited such as had never before been seen in that priest-ridden and superstitious land. But the mind of Spain was untouched. While the surface, and, as it were, the symptoms of affairs were ameliorated, affairs themselves remained unchanged. Below that surface, and far out of the reach of any political remedy

"large general causes were at work, which had been operating for many centuries, and which were sure, sooner or later, to force politicians to re-trace their steps, and compel them to inaugurate a policy which would suit the traditions of the country and harmonize with the circumstances under which those traditions had been formed. At length the re-action came. In 1788, Charles III died and was succeeded by Charles IV. * * It was now seen how insecure everything was, and how little reliance can be placed on reforms, which, instead of being suggested by the people, are bestowed on them by the political classes. Charles IV, though a weak and contemptible prince, was so supported in his general views by the feelings of the Spanish nation that in less than five years he was able completely to reverse that liberal policy which it had taken three generations of statesmen to build up. In less than five years everything was changed."

The foregoing extracts appear to be so pregnant with interest to all in this country, as well Europeans as Natives, that we make no apology for having produced them at such length as we have. In view of them we are prompted to enquire, What is the state of things here? What, after making due allowance for phenomena which are properly attributable to Government action, remains as the true condition of the social body? What, in short, is the existing civilization of the people? The complete answer to this question would be a book of no small dimensions, a history which we have no intention of approaching. In M. Guizot's *Civilization de l'Europe*, the definition alone of the term 'civilization', notwithstanding the author's analytical power and precision of language, occupies the whole of the first lecture! But, even without pretending to touch the hem of the formidable task, which an enquiry of this kind would constitute, we can direct attention to one or two points in the social economy of this country which may indicate a means of testing the vitality of its civilization, may lead to the detection of its principles of growth, and may serve to measure them in comparison with the civilization of the West.

Let us, then, first recall some of the essential elements of European civilization. In England, for instance, the diffusion of material well-being among the population, the amount of accumulated wealth in the shape of furniture, table-ware (by which we mean glass, cutlery, porcelain, &c.), clothing, linen and so on, which is almost universally in daily and hourly use, not merely kept for great occasions, is certainly a most prominent matter of observation. Considerable amenity of manners and habits of life prevails low down in the social scale. Female elegance and refinement of thought makes its influence felt as well outside as inside the house, and all social intercourse is governed by it. We appeal confidently to those native gentlemen who have visited

England to say how pleasant are the ways of English country-life, be the establishment never so homely. Classes whose occupation is menial or laborious, are not without some degree of cultivation, and it is seldom even that the agricultural peasant (commonly the poorest among the poor) has not his Bible and perhaps two or three other books on a corner shelf of his room. There is, doubtless, poverty enough to be witnessed, and ignorance too, to sadden the heart of the most careless observer, and to demonstrate that the social machine is somewhere out of gear, but the fact remains that the great bulk of the people enjoy the benefits of substance and of information. Again, the dominant tone of thought in all classes is free; there is but little of subserviency, or of timid deference, to authority. And the intellectual achievements of the leading men of England in science, literature and politics, are sufficient to prove that in her case the march of intellectual development has been parallel with that of material prosperity. Religion must not be omitted from our account. It is of course generically Christian; but, even within this province, liberty of thought has asserted itself by the creation of such numerous shades of belief, chequering the very floor of the Established Church itself, that no one among them is powerful enough to claim and challenge dominion; and the same cause prevents them from becoming stereotyped into permanent forms. In spite of the common tendency of their professors to insist on finality of dogma, it cannot seriously be questioned that they do, practically, accommodate themselves to the thought of the day. In short, it may be said that the civilization of England exhibits remarkable material prosperity, and is everywhere, be the area religious or secular, characterized by *conflict of interest, a free spirit of inquiry, and energy of physical and intellectual action*. And this holds true in a greater or less degree of the other leading countries of Europe.

To what extent are these three elements ingredients in the social fabric of this country? We do not propose to recommend, even by implication, that the people of India or of Bengal should set themselves to copy European manners and habits of life. Nations cannot take over a civilization second-hand as a garment. They must make it for themselves out of their own stuff. But what we mean to assert is this, that the civilization of India or of Bengal, select your community as you may, will not entitle its people to any creditable place among nations, unless and until such principles of growth and development as those just mentioned can be found in it. Are they to be found therein now? How far, for instance, does a free spirit of sober earnest inquiry prevail within the more important circles of society? Is energetic activity, physical and intellectual, anywhere so manifested as to constitute a national feature? And if these questions cannot be answered in the affirm-

ative, we are driven to ask whether Mr. Buckle's words are applicable : are we to assume that the people "are satisfied with themselves ; they are sure of the accuracy of their opinions ; they are proud of the notions which they have inherited, and they do not wish either to increase or to diminish them. Unable to doubt, they are therefore unwilling to enquire."

This matter seems to deserve more careful discussion than our pages can afford. It is not a little noteworthy that the language which is here used is personal ; the predicates are "you" and "they." A whole people is spoken of under a personal pronoun "you do this," or "they think that," as if there was but one mind for all the constituent individuals. And this mode of expression is almost entirely accurate. It is surprising, on reflection, to discover how extremely small is the amount of original thought manifested in any given person among us. We acquire the great bulk of our opinions and sentiments from our associates, unconsciously, without exercise of an appreciable discrimination. Our parents, teachers and companions hand over to us our moral and intellectual furniture, just as they themselves received it from the generation which preceded them. How few of us ever question the foundations of the creed which we are taught to regard as of more momentous import to us than aught else in the world ; or, if we do enquire, in what matter do we conduct the investigation ? How often do we convince ourselves that we have been wrongly trained ? Is it not safe to affirm that, with exceptions too infinitesimal in number to need being taken account of, we are Hindus, Muhammadans, or Christians, according to the persuasion of those among whom our days of infancy were passed ? In truth, the existence of specific distinctions in national manners and customs is but a marked expression of this social law. Still, new opinions do arise and become diffused. Better information is obtained and communicated ; individuals observe, discover, demonstrate ; and in the end their demonstrations get accepted by gradually widening circles of the community. Thus, in the phenomena of society as in other departments of natural history, there is a law of inheritance, accompanied by a principle of variation ; and it is on the activity of the latter element that the progress of civilization depends. It is by the accretion from time to time of new ideas, and added knowledge to the old stores, and by the consequent obliteration therefrom of the obsolete and the erroneous, that national advance is effected. In this each member of society bears his part. There is certainly no conceivable reason, *a priori*, why the men of the present day should not be able to think and to act as well as their forefathers ; they have at least the advantage of their forefathers' work as a foundation upon which to build, and therefore whatever honest work they do, must be an addition to the public welfare. In truth,

those are false to their generation and their country who sit down in indolence, and comfort themselves with the reflection that they can in nothing improve upon the wisdom of their ancestors. And, surely, it should be shame to us of these days to confess that, though the men from whom we are sprung could in the dawn of civilization do excellently well, we, taught by their lessons and strengthened by their work, can do nothing. Yet this seems to be but too universally the social creed of the Oriental. It is time, at any rate, for the Bengali to understand that the business of elevating the tone of society, diffusing trustworthy information and propagating enlightened opinions is the business of everyone. Unless it be done, the country must stagnate in spite of all the advantages of European rule. No one can do it, but the people themselves. 'Self-help,' in this case, is not an inferior alternative; it is the only course.

There are two means which are specially effective for supporting the vigour of the social system, and increasing its intrinsic powers of development by the introduction of new material. These are, religion and education. Or rather, to speak more correctly, they are parts of one instrument, and should be termed teaching, religious and secular. It is through these channels alone that the springs of national thought and action can be reached and affected. And by them each individual member of society may make himself appreciably influential if he chooses. We refer here to religion merely in its politico-economical aspects. It will be admitted by all that there is, in the practical religion of the masses of this country, an amount of superstition which is pernicious to the best interests of society. It is not merely a dead weight of ignorance retardative of intellectual action, but it is so obstructive in the restriction which it imposes upon the freedom of industry, that it is almost impossible the country should make any substantial progress until it is reformed. Now with all the tendency of orientals to look to Government for aid in their difficulties, assuredly they will not do so here. And it might be added that no government—no foreigner—could aid them, if they did. Nor can the intelligent portion of the community view this matter with indifference. It would be irrelevant to speculate whether a country could succeed in attaining any high position in the career of humanity without a religion operative among the people, because the people of this country are everywhere most earnest in the profession of one form or another of belief. What does concern every member of the community is, to do his best that the actual religion be purged of ingredients which are deleterious to society, and this he can only do by making his own faith the object of most serious consideration. If every one would form his convictions with conscientious deliberation, and boldly avow them

when formed, real service of incalculable value would be done to the country. We would say to the rising generation :—Free yourselves from the moral cowardice which tempts adherence to appearances that are hollow : spread by your example the effective operation of those principles which your best endeavours after truth may have led you to adopt ; so will you act the part of honest men, and escape the culpability which attaches to all who shelter themselves behind pretences. We assert advisedly that the educated men of this country at the present time have unusual cause to be earnest in the matter of their religion. And it may be gravely questioned, whether they yet, as a body, have realized their responsibilities in this respect. They would seem to need reminding that almost universally in modern history the awaking of the intellect of the people has been first manifested by a religious reformation. Doubtless, a religious movement is to some extent actually taking place among the people, and it is impossible for a Christian not to regard it with the greatest interest. Hitherto, the religion of all the countries which have attained the highest civilization, has been some form or another of Christianity, and clearly this circumstance is not merely matter of accident. The principles of living, and the motives to intellectual activity, which are characteristic of Christianity, must necessarily have place in any advanced progressive civilization : and as yet no other form of religious faith has developed them to an equal extent, or exhibited them in so practical a shape. The leading religious reformers of Bengal very manifestly recognize this fact, and therefore endeavour to take over the Christian moral and ethical code without the peculiar anthropomorphic theology with which it is most intimately associated. This is a remarkable experiment, and it yet remains to be seen whether a religion for the *people* can be fashioned in this way. There can be no doubt that it is to the anthropomorphism, which enters so largely into the Christian conception of the deity, that Christianity owes its influence and popularity with the uneducated masses in those countries where it prevails, while the abstract and spiritual element also involved in it, commands the allegiance of cultured intelligence. It may be questioned whether, if these parts be severed, any great vitality will remain in either ? At any rate, it is scarcely possible to believe that, by the indigent and long suffering millions of this land, a religion less anthropomorphic than that which is needed to satisfy the cravings of Western populations will speedily be accepted in lieu of one of the most material faiths in the world. The example of Buddhism may perhaps be appealed to on the other side, but if so, the answer is, that Buddhism broke down in India before the advance of an exaggerated materialism, developed out of the very creed which it had professed to reform. The conclusion appears to

be unavoidable, that up to this time the task of reforming the religion of the *people* is, practically speaking, untouched. We do not pretend to hazard a guess as to the way in which it will eventually be approached. Necessarily, it must be worked out from within, and our sole object is to point out that at present it is a duty unfulfilled.

Let us now turn our attention for a few moments towards the second of the abovementioned two means of national development, namely, secular teaching. Of some sort there is doubtless plenty of it to be seen in the country, and so there was in the Spain of Mr. Buckle's narrative. It has also borne notable fruit in the shape of some few scholars and still fewer men of science. But the question for us is, What is it effecting with the people? It may be, as regards the inner life and feelings of the people, altogether external, artificial, producing at the best a species of social veneer. Or it may be, even though foreign in its inception, both creating and meeting an appetite for that which is an element in the grain and substance of society. We fear that there is quite as much of the former as of the latter character in its action.

The higher University education appears to be, to a considerable degree, hollow in its general results. So far as regards the professions of law and medicine, the University supplies good information, sufficient to furnish on the average a very fair standard of practitioner. But the demand which governs this supply does not come from the people: it is essentially bureaucratic, and would probably in a great degree, if not altogether, disappear, if the governing power ceased to be European. The same may be said also of the effect of higher English education on the *keranee* classes generally. It does not appear that any number of young men significant enough to be termed a section of society, as yet seek academical education for the sake solely of the culture which it affords. The wealthiest and socially most influential classes scarcely seek it all for any purpose, and the instances in which men have been led by their academic course to even a tolerable mastery of any branch of learning or science are few indeed. Students, undoubtedly, abound who exhibit very great aptitude at getting up text books, and reproducing the matter thereof in specie, but they seldom, if ever, manifest any of that forwardness to put the subject of study into a new shape which is the truest symptom that principles have been grasped by the mind. Of course the diffusion of even a superficial knowledge of Western literature and science produces its effect upon the individual recipients, and through them upon the general tone of thought of society. But this, such as it is, appears to be almost entirely exotic in its character, and probably, with a partial exception, would speedily die out if the European forcing apparatus were removed. The exception is to be found in the

field of religious thought. The rationalism intrinsic to the knowledge of history and science which obtains in Europe, although it has for various reasons made but slow progress in England, was seized upon with avidity by the quick intellect of Bengal, and has now become one of the internal forces of native society. It is impossible to predict what will be the precise nature of the change which it will eventually work throughout the country at large, but it may safely be assumed that henceforward it will always be a most important ingredient in the national civilization. Unfortunately, the emancipation from certain restraints of social opinion, which necessarily accompanied the growth of freedom of thought in religious matters, has given play to temptations which a considerable number of the younger men have failed to resist. Inflated pretensions and vicious habits, properly attributable to this cause, and simply indicative of want of education, are, with much show of reason, pointed at by those "proud of the notions they have inherited," as being the natural products of the newly introduced European civilization. It would be an undertaking too large for these pages to enquire particularly wherein consists the infirmity of the so-called higher-class English education. Probably, if pursued, such an enquiry would lead to the conclusion that the fault lies partly with the existing system of public instruction, and partly (in a much greater degree) with the deficiency at home of educating elements, the place of which cannot be supplied by any substitute. And it is most important for the right understanding of the present condition of the higher education in this presidency to remember that, whatever may be the merits of the academy in itself, it cannot, as a rule, produce any but hollow and unsubstantial results, unless the pupil comes to it properly prepared. In short, it is early training and the education and influence of home associations that in the vast majority of instances governs the ultimate character of the man's moral and intellectual culture. It may be confidently asserted that the educational activity apparent throughout this land, will remain foreign and external until it reaches the family centre. It is in the home-life which moulds the mind and disposition of the future man, that the excellence of English civilization is found; and it is precisely here that the civilization of India has its rudest features. There is something more than incongruity between the enlightenment of young Bengal, and that primitive world of naked children, uncultured semi-clad women and superstitious servants, which commonly exists behind the purdah of the zenana. As long as the former rests upon no better basis than that which the latter affords, it must necessarily be false in essence and tone.

The despotism of social convention is everywhere almost irresistible; and in view of the constitution of the household in the best

native families, it cannot be matter of wonder that individual gentlemen, even of considerable English culture, find themselves powerless to introduce any effective means of education into the inner apartments. The utmost that has yet been done in this direction appears hardly to be such as possesses any self-developing force. Accomplishments, very becoming and important in a well-educated woman who has a real part to take in society, and a smattering of elementary information in history and geography by themselves, are insignificant as educating agents. At best they can be considered as little more than pastime for those whose minds and hands are otherwise unemployed. Indirectly, however, they prove useful to the cause of true educational progress, for, with the diffusion of these things, there must gradually grow up among the female members of the better classes a consciousness that woman's culture is not what it ought to be; and when dissatisfaction with social rules is heartily felt behind the purdah as well as in front, it is not rash to predict that a modification of those rules will speedily take place.

It is a misfortune that those whose voices and opinions are influential in native society, know almost nothing of the inner life of English households. It is still more unfortunate that their minds are very largely pervaded with notions as to the Englishwoman's character, which are altogether erroneous. While we deplore this, we cannot in reason be surprised that persons whose materials for forming a judgment in this matter are limited to satires reprinted from the *Saturday Review*, and the scenes which are presented to them in public balls, of fashionably uncovered young women gyrating in the arms of young men, somewhat indiscriminately, through the rapid evolutions of the waltz, should form a not very exalted estimate of the modesty of English gentlewomen. All narrow and false views so generated would, however, be dissipated, and a true stimulus given to the progress of sound education within the domestic circle of native families, if native gentlemen were received more generally than they now are in familiar social intercourse by English residents of the higher classes in this country. It is not our purpose at this time to enquire into the causes which still prevail to keep the educated native and the Englishman widely apart. We desire only to mark the fact, that although Englishmen have now for a considerable period had homes in this land, the example they afford of domestic manners and refinement of female society which distinguish Western civilization, has hitherto been of inappreciable effect in influencing the course of Indian civilization.

Throughout the middle and lower middle classes of the country the existing system of instruction is spreading an amount of elementary information, which cannot fail ultimately to produce

important consequences in regard to the mental condition of those classes. The great masses of the community, however, seem to be still unaffected by any educational effort from either without or within, and they constitute a dead weight of obstructive ignorance, prejudice and superstition, which is perfectly appalling in its magnitude. It is a hopeful symptom of the healthiness of social progress in Bengal that the task of attacking this enormous evil is fearlessly approached by some earnest-minded native gentlemen, unaided by the State. Obviously, instruction and enlightenment must be brought to this portion of the population in a special mode. Their extreme poverty deprives them both of the means and of the time for availing themselves of the ordinary schools. Evening schools, such as those at Barahanagore maintained by the very zealous and praiseworthy exertions of Babu Sasipada Banerjee, and those lately set on foot by the Association over which Babu Keshub Chunder Sen presides, appear to afford almost the only avenue by which the lower labouring classes can be invaded in the absence of Government organization for the purpose.

Europeans enjoy such slight opportunity of observing the interior of native society that the remarks they may make upon it cannot be greatly depended upon. Still the indicia of intellectual and economic activity of the people must be open to the observation even of a by-stander. The preceding sketch, then, exceedingly imperfect as it is, may not be altogether without value. It may at least serve to attract attention to the points which are most material in an enquiry into the actual state of the civilization of this country. If it tends to suggest the conclusion that much of the boasted modern education and enlightenment of Bengal is little better than unsubstantial show and parade—a beauty-veil to plain features behind, it also shows that there are vital forces at work in the body of society, which, if secured from interruption and encouraged by the dominant power, will undoubtedly lead to true national development.

J. B. P.

ART. IV.—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN
THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

PART II.

*De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera. Joannes de Laët.
Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana. Anno 1631.*

CAP. I.—*Indiæ sive Imperii Magni Mogolis Topographica
Descriptio.*

THE PROVINCE OF AGRA.—We leave the province of Gualere, or Gualiar, for that of Agra on crossing the river Camberis,* which I believe to be the common boundary of the two provinces. English travellers say that the river here is nearly as large as the Thames.

Beyond this river, the road for two coss is narrow and difficult, with mountains on either side. It here reaches Doulpore, a city inhabited by Gentiles (Hindus), which possesses a very strong and extensive fortress, surrounded on all sides by a broad ditch and by four parallel walls inside the ditch. The fortress is very difficult of access; its breadth is three-quarters of a mile (Dutch). From this place to Jaiow† the distance is nine coss, and thence to Agra the same.

Agra is situated north of the equator twenty-eight degrees and thirty (or, as some say, forty-five) minutes. Before the time of King Achabar it is said to have been a mere village. Now it is a most spacious and populous city, whose streets (though they are for the most part narrow, with the exception of the one in which the market is situated,) can scarcely accommodate the numerous inhabitants. It lies in the form of a half-moon on the banks of the River Jemini, or Soemena, which flows down from Delly, and which is overhung by many very beautiful palaces belonging to the nobles of the empire. The prospect towards the river is most pleasant for about six coss or more along its banks. Here, too, is situated the royal palace, the largest and most magnificent in the whole East. It occupies a site of nearly four square miles (English), and is surrounded on all sides by a wall of hewn stone, inside which is a double rampart. Within are the palace and court of the king, and many other buildings of extraordinary magnificence. The city itself is surrounded neither by a wall nor by a rampart, but

* This river is evidently the Chumbul. It is crossed by the road from Gwalior to Dholpore near the village of Hinjonah.

† Now written Jaju, near the ford

of the river Bungunga. It is generally called Jájú Sarái. Near it the battle was fought between Bahádúr Sháh, son and successor of Aurangzeb, and his brother Prince Muhammad A'zam.

only by a deep ditch. The suburbs are very extensive. It is said that King Achabar made this his capital in the year 1566, and constructed, for its protection and adornment, several gates, which are called Madhar Derwasa, Tziartzou Derwasa, Nim Derwasa, Pouto Derwasa and Noery Derwasa. The site of the city is very long in proportion to its breadth; for every one has been anxious to have immediate access to the river, and all have consequently built their houses on the bank. The palaces of the nobles lie in this order:—First, commencing in the northern quarter, comes the house of Badur Chan,* who formerly held the fortress of Hassere. Next to him is Radzia Bosios,† the father of Ray-Rottangh, who formerly was Governor of Barampory with the command of five thousand horse. Next, Ebrahim Chan,‡ a commander of three thousand horse; Rostom Kandahary,§ of five thousand; Radia Kissendas,|| of three thousand; Ethe gat Chan,¶ the younger brother of Assof Chan, of five thousand; Chazady Chanons,** the sister of the king, and the widow of Madostar Chan; Goulziar Begem, the mother of the king; Codha Mamet Thahar, the commander of two thousand horse; Codha Benziu, of a thousand; Ozier Chan,†† of five thousand. Then comes the large house of Tzoach Pœrazi, in which live the concubines of the dead king Achabar. Then the house of Ethebar Chan,‡‡ the

* This is doubtless the Bahádur mentioned in the first part. (*Calcutta Review*, No. CII. p. 350.) After the conquest of Málwah, Bahádur wandered about, trying to get support from the kings of the Dak'hin, but failing in this, he threw himself on Akbar's mercy. He was made a commander of 1,000, and received a small jágir.

† Raja Bhoj, father of Ráo Ratan. The latter was governor of Burhánpúr in the 19th year of Jahangir's reign, when Sháhjahán marched from Telingánah to Bengal. Rája Bhoj's father was Ráo Surjan Hádá from whom Akbar took Fort Ratanbhúr. Surjan was for some time governor of Garha-Katangah (Jabalpúr) and Fort Chudár.

‡ This Ibrahim Khan was governor of Bengal under Jahangir; he lost his possessions and his life in the invasion of Bengal by Shah Jahan in 1622. His wife was maternal aunt to Núr Jahán.

§ A Persian Prince of the Safawí family, formerly governor of Kandarhar.—See note, p. 78.

|| Raja Kissen Dás, a grandee of Jahángir. He was a Tunwar Rájput.

¶ Itikád Khán Mirzá Shápúr, son of Itimád-ud-daulah Mirzá Ghiás (father of Núr Jahán), and brother of Asaf Khán. He died in the 23rd year of Sháhjahán's reign (A. H. 1060).

He is not to be confounded with Itikád Khán Mirzá Bahman Yár, son of Asaf Khán.

** Sháhzádí Khánum was the name of Akbar's eldest daughter, and sister of Jahángir. But if the sister of Sháhjahán be intended, it would refer to Sultanunnisá Begum. Unfortunately the name *Madostar Chan* admits of no verification.

†† Ozier Khán is Wazír Khan Hákim Alimuddín of Chiniote (Panjab), who was made a commander of 5,000 on Sháhjahán's accession. He died in the 14th year of Shahjahán's reign as Subahdár of Agra.

‡‡ Itibár Khán Khwajah Sarai (i.e. Eunuch) was a commander of 5,000 under Jahángir, and was in the 17th year of his reign Subahdár of Agra.

Eunuch, who was before his death Governor of Agra; Bager Chan,* the commander of three thousand horse; Mirza Abou-sayth,† of fifteen hundred; Assof Chan,‡ of eight thousand, (this is by far the most sumptuous palace); Ethamadaulet, the commander of five thousand; Sultan Chrom,§ the prince, and a commander of twenty thousand horse during the life of his father; Chan Sian,|| of five thousand; Codha Abdulhassen, of five thousand; Rochia Sultan Begem,¶ the unmarried sister of the king.

There comes next the royal palace, the walls of which are built of red stone to the height of twenty-five cubits, above a somewhat lofty site. The building is a stupendous one, and has a most delightful prospect, especially towards the river, on which side it has windows of lattice-work, from which the king is accustomed to look out at the contests of elephants. A little within this lattice-work is the king's residence, which is called the Gussul-can,** built of alabaster in a square form, overlaid with golden planks in a gorgeous manner. Below this is situated the women's quarters, (Mahael, they call it,) occupied by Nourzian Begem, the most beloved wife of the former King Ziangier. The remainder of the palatial site is occupied by various buildings, amongst which the chief are the women's apartments, viz., one set belonging to Maria Makany,†† the wife of Ahabar and mother of Ziangier; then three sets, in which the concubines of the king are shut up,

* Bâkir Khân Najm-i-Sâni, a grandee of Jahângir and Shâhjahân's courts. He was married to Khadjah Begum, daughter of Nûr Jahân's sister, and died in the 10th year of Shâhjahân's reign as governor of Allahabad.

† Mîrzâ Abû Sa'îd, grandson of I'timâd-ud-daulah. He died in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign.

‡ This is of course the powerful brother of Nur Jahân, to whose influence Shah Jahân was considerably indebted for his throne. On the death of Jahângir, Asaf Khan, marched against Shehryâr at Lahore, defeated him, and subsequently put him to death. There is an interesting notice of this nobleman amongst the India Office Records, in a letter from Thomas Kerridge to the East India Company, dated Ajmere, March 20, 1615:—"Aseph Chan, chief favourite of the King, by means of his sister, the best beloved queen, considered the most fit to present Edwardes [the "Messenger" of the Company to Jahangir, and the pre-

decessor of Sir Thos. Roe] and prosecute our business." He goes on to say that a present must be made to Aseph Chan, as he had sent Edwardes 1,000 rupees for a banquet.

§ Sultan Khurram, or Shahjahan.

|| Khan Jahan Lodi held great commands under Jahangir. He rebelled against Shah Jehan in 1629, and after various successes and disasters was killed in Bundelkund in 1630.

¶ Rukaiah Sultan Begum was the name of Akbar's first wife. She died at 84 years of age about a year and a half before Jahângir's death. It is not clear whether DeLaët refers to her, though no other Moghul princess of the same name is mentioned by Muhammadan historians.

** *Ghusl-khâna*, pr. a bagnio, a term in use since the reign of Akbar. It means a private reception hall.

†† DeLaët is wrong. Maryam Makânî was the title of Akbar's mother; Akbar's wife, the mother of Jahângir, had the title of Maryam Zamânî.

whereof one set is called Lettewar, from the name for Sunday ; the second Mangel, from that of Tuesday ; and the third Zenisser, from that of Saturday ; on which days the king is accustomed to visit them respectively. In addition, there is a fifth set of women's apartments, in which foreign women are brought up for the pleasure of the king ; this is called the Bengaly Mahal. On leaving the royal citadel, one emerges on a large market, where horses, camels, oxen, and all kinds of merchandise are sold. Then follow the palaces of Mirza Abdalla,* the son of Chan Azem, the commander of three thousand horse ; of Aga Nours, also a commander of three thousand ; Zehenna Chan, of two thousand ; Mirza Chrom, the son of Chan Alems, of two thousand ; Mahabot Chan,† of eight thousand ; Chan Alem,‡ of five thousand ; Radzia Bartzing, of three thousand ; Radzia Mantzing,§ of two thousand.

I find it noticed by the English that this city is distant from Lahore five hundred miles ; from Brampore, a thousand ; from Asmere, two hundred ; from Suratte, seven hundred and seventy.

On the left bank of the river is the city of Secandra, elegantly built, and chiefly inhabited by Baneanes ; for hither they bring most of the merchandise from Purob,|| Bengala, Purbet, and Bouten,¶ and pay the Queen's customs before crossing the river. This city also occupies a site of nearly two coss in length. It possesses some palaces magnificently built, as those of Sultan Perwesy** and others. There are also some most beautiful gardens, amongst which the chief is that of Ethaman Doulet,††

* Mírzá 'Abdullah and Mírzá Khurram were sons of Mírzá Azíz Kokah Khán A'zam, Akbar's foster-brother. DeLaët calls Mírzá Khurram by mistake the son of Khán 'Alam, instead of Khan A'zam.

† The famous General who opposed Nur Jahan, and held for some time the custody of Jahangir's person and the management of the empire.

‡ Amongst the India Office Records is a letter from Kerridge, the Company's factor at Agra, dated September 7, 1613, wherein occurs the following sentence :—"The Emperor of Persia demands Scinde, which the King will not grant ; Chan Allam goes ambassador for Persia." Khan 'Alam was the title of Mírzá Barkhurdár. He was a commander of 5,000 and was pensioned off by Sháhjahán in the 5th year of his reign. He lived at Agra, and had no children.

As a reward for his embassy to Persia, Jahangir had made him a commander of 5,000.

§ Raja Man Singh, one of Akbar's most famous Generals. He settled Bengal ; his sister was married to Jahangir, and was the mother of Prince Khusráu. But he was a commander of 6,000, not 2,000.

|| Purob is elsewhere called Purropia, and is described below (p. 88). as the province of Allahabad.

¶ Bhutan.

** Sultan Parwiz, son of Jahangir.

†† The father of Nur Jahan is known in history by the names of Mirza Ghiyas, Ghiyas Beg, and Chaja Aiass. The name given him throughout by De Laët (Ethaman Doulet) is obviously a corruption of the title which Jahangir bestowed upon him—'Itimad-ud-daulah, or the 'trust of the empire.' His splendid mausoleum lies near Agra, close to the railway.

the father of Assof Chan and of Queen Nourzian, who died a few years ago. A magnificent monument is being erected here to his memory at so great a cost that those who have seen its commencement think that ten millions of rupees will not be sufficient to complete it.

In the same province is situated Fetti-pore; it is distant from Agra twelve coss. It was formerly a most noble city; Achabar surrounded it with a wall and fixed here the seat of his Government, which he afterwards transferred to Agra. The wall remains to the present day, but the city is almost destroyed; its houses tumbled down, and the soil turned into fields and gardens, so that when you are in the midst of the city, you would think yourself in the country rather than in a town. The distance from one gate of the city to the other is three English miles; but it is very dangerous to attempt this journey by night. The suburbs also formerly were most extensive, but are now altogether in ruins. Within the gate on the north side is a very large market-place, a mile in length, paved with flints, and enclosed on either side by buildings. At the end of this there is the royal palace, adorned with many costly edifices, and above it is a mosque, more splendid than any other in the whole East. The ascent to this mosque is by twenty-five or thirty steps, at the top of which is a very lofty and most beautiful gate, visible from a great distance. Within is a broad area, paved with living stone, and surrounded on all sides by magazines, with lofty columns of solid rock and immense ceilings. Near the gate is seen a splendid monument, wherein is buried a certain holy Mahumetan, of the sect of those called Kalendars; who is said to have constructed this mosque at his own expense. Below this is a tank, which alone furnishes this town with drinking water, for all the other springs and water-courses are salt and unwholesome. It is said that it was this scarcity of water which obliged the king to desert the city; which on this account, within the short space of fifty years from its origin, has become almost deserted. It was formerly called Sykary,* that is, an enclosure for hunting; but Achabar, on his return from a long journey, and having obtained the blessing of a son (the same who afterwards succeeded him) ordered it to be called Feti-pore to signify the attainment of the object of a vow. Outside the walls on the north-west is a marsh, some two or three coss in length, abounding in fish and birds. Nearly the whole of this marsh is covered by a herb which bears the *hermodactylus* fruit,† and by another herb which bears the *Camolachacheri*;‡ both

* DeLaët evidently derives *Síkri* from the Persian *Shikári*; but *Síkri* is a Hindi word. Akbar changed the name *Síkri* to *Fathpúr* after the Gujrátí wars.

† This is explained below to be the

Singara, sometimes called the *pan-phol*.

‡ This name should evidently be written *kamalacháki*; and is probably the fruit of the lotus, the *pad-macháki*.

these fruits possess very cooling properties. The fruit of the hermodactylus is covered with a triangular rind of a woody substance, armed with a sharp thorn at each of the angles. Whilst green, it is soft, and of a flavour by no means unpleasant, but very cold. It is commonly called Singarra by the Indians. It grows here and there even in the tanks about Agra. The Camalochacheri is in the form of a goblet, and contains within it six or eight kernels which are separated by a white membrane.

In the same province is Bayana, or Byana, famous for the very finest indigo. The road from Agra to this place is as follows :—To Menhapore, a great hostel, seven coss, near which is a country-palace of the Queen's mother—they call it a Moholl, with an elegant and pleasant garden. To Cannova, eleven coss.

It is to be observed that, in the road from Agra to Asmere, on which we are now travelling, a distance of one hundred and thirty coss, each coss is marked by a white pillar; and at the distance of every eight coss, there is a set of women's apartments, capable of containing sixteen ladies with their servants. These were erected by King Achabar, who, when he wished for children, went on foot from Agra to Asmere, to the tomb of a holy Mahometan named Hogee Monde*, who is especially venerated in this country.

Cannowa† is a little country town, around which the best indigo or *nil* is collected, on account of the solidity of the soil and the saltiness of the water. The advantage obtained from these conditions is, the *nil* is much more friable than when it is prepared with sweet water.

I find it noted by my Dutch authorities that Cannova is distant from Byana on the west ten coss, and has in its district these villages: Mahal and Phoubas, which are each two coss from the town; Tzourtsouda, a coss and-a-half; Dabet, two coss; Mahalpore and Garassa, each one coss; Dannachan, two coss; Bockolyt, one coss; Barawat, one coss and-a-half; Zrazewolian, the same distance; Phettapore, five coss.

From Cannova to Ouchen, three coss; to Candere, a dirty village, six coss. Two coss from this place is a palace like those which we have already mentioned as having been constructed by the king at every eight coss on the Asmere road. The building is of a square form. Inside the first gate is a hall destined for a Darshany (or Hall of Audience) for the king, with some interior bed-rooms

* Khájah Mu'innuddín, the oldest Indian Saint, whose *dargáh* is in Ajmír. He was born in Sijistán, and died in A. D. 1239 at Ajmír.

He belongs to the Chishtí sect. The Moghul Emperors often visited his tomb, especially Akbar and

Jahángír.

† Kaunweh is a few miles west of Futtehpore, and in Bhurtpore. It is described by Heber as a large ruinous village, with a mosque and a considerable Musalman population.

adjoining it. Inside the second gate are the women's apartments, also of a square form; but each side is so arranged that it may contain four bed-rooms for the royal concubines, there being sixteen bed-rooms in all. In the centre of each side and at the four corners are open halls called Devoncan,* carpeted with rich tapestry. In the midst of the palace is the king's bed-chamber, with direct access to the women's apartments, which are always open on this side.

Byana† was formerly a large and beautiful town; now it is almost fallen to ruin, except two Sarays and a long street or bazâr (that is, a market), with a few huts; the finer houses have already fallen down or are threatening to do so, and have only a few occupants. From this town, however, the finest indigo or *nîl* which India sends us takes its name. It is prepared (my Dutch authorities inform me) in a tract of country about twenty or thirty coss in length, wherein there are five principal towns, each having more villages in its district. Of these chief towns, one is Cannova, the villages belonging to which we have already enumerated. Another is Byana, which has the following villages under it:—Ebrahimie Dabat, distant from the town one coss; Perso,‡ four coss; Otchim, six; Patchiona, five; Bizampor, four; Mehepore, four; Tzonova, four; Pinyora, six; Nau Nava, six; Beretcha, five; Azenauhe, four; Baziola, four; Pedaulet, four; Gordaha, five; Hellec Zeos, nearly ten; Pehertzy, seven; Raduwel§ Khera, four; Nimbera, seven; Berouwa, five; Ratziona, seven; Indiarra, four; Tziereer Panna, five; Birampor, four; Catchioera, four. The third chief town is Bassouwer,|| distant ten coss from Byana towards the west, to which belong the following villages:—Wyris,¶ distant from Bassouwer, three coss; Rat-soulpor, four; Hessauda, as many; Tzerrees, two; Barolu, one and-a-half; Ziara, three; Pantha,** two and-a-half; Tzettohe, three; Sonoher, six; Tsonhery, six. The fourth chief town is Hindoun,†† distant ten coss from Byana, to which belong the following villages:—Khera, distant two coss; Ziamalpoura, two; Kottopore, two; Haszianepore, three; Sierpoer, six; Tzeroot,‡‡ five; Ziet-

* *Divân-khâna*, a hall of audience or council-chamber, a *divan*.

† Biana was the capital of this province before the rise of Agra. Sikandar Lodi held his court there.

‡ Heber mentions Persa as a village in Bhurtpore, and states that there is much cultivation of grain, cotton and sugar, between Kannweh and Persa.

§ Radawal is at present a village about half-way between Kannweh

and Biana.

|| Besawar is a town near the western extremity of the Bhurtpore territory.

¶ Weyre is a village between Biana and Besawar.

** Powta is west of Besawar, and in the Jeypore territories.

†† Hindoun is also in Jeypore, south-west of Biana.

‡‡ Sarout is a village midway between Biana and Hindoun.

waly and Kardaue, each six. The fifth chief town is Tora,* distant from Byana eighteen coss, which also possesses several villages, but their names have not been supplied to me.

There are also other places in this province that produce indigo, as, for instance, across the river Semena, Koheloff, Gorza, thirty coss from Agra. But this indigo is not considered by any means equal to the Byanensian in quality, and has not hitherto been imported into Europe.

Three or four coss from the town of Byana to the north-west may be seen the ruins of a magnificent palace and of other buildings. Also, towards the south, in the direction of the town of Scanderbade at about the same distance from Byana, there are similar ruins on the top of some rocks; the road leading to them is a narrow and precipitous path, paved with flints, inaccessible except to a man on foot. Inside the narrow gateway, immediately on the right, and on the brink of the precipice, there is a most beautiful building, within which are some monuments, which remain entire to the present day. From this you ascend, by a road paved with stones, to the royal palaces, which are now almost in ruins, and only inhabited by a few shepherds who call themselves Goagers.† At the foot of the mountain, towards Scanderbade, there is a pleasant valley, surrounded by a wall, where there are many gardens.

But the town of Scanderbade, in a former age, was the capital of a very powerful Potanensian King. Its fortifications extended for eight coss along the brow of the hill, and, in addition, there were parts of its boundary which were sufficiently defended by the precipitous nature of the place, and which, therefore, had no walls. Now it is only the resort of shepherds, and has been so since the time when King Achabar expelled the usurper Scha-Selim from this very strong place, and utterly wasted and destroyed it, as he treated Mandoa also.

DELY OR DELLI, a most celebrated kingdom, adjoins the province of Agra. The road from Agra to Lahore runs through this kingdom as follows:—From Agra, the residence of the king, to Rawnoctan, twelve coss; to Bady, a saray, ten; to Achabarpore,‡ twelve. This was formerly a considerable town; now it is only visited by pilgrims who come here on account of many holy Mahumetans buried here. To Hondle, thirteen coss; to Pulwool,§ twelve; to Ferreedabade,|| twelve; to Delly, ten.

* Probably Toda in Jeypore.

† Gujurs, still an important tribe in Jeypore.

‡ A village on the route from Muttra cantonment to Delhi, in the

district of Muttra.

§ Pulwul is the chief town of a pergunnah of the same name in the district of Goorgaon.

|| Faridabad is on the route from

On turning off to the left from the road between the two last places, the huge remains of the old City of Delly are seen, which the Indians call "Nine castles and fifty-two gates." At present it is only the resort of shepherds. Not far from these ruins a stone-bridge is passed, built over a branch of the Jemini or Semena; from this a broad path, shaded by lofty trees, leads to the monument of Hamawn, the grand-father of Selim, who was Emperor in the year 1609,* and, a little further on, to the royal palace, which, at the present time, is falling to ruin.

The modern City of Delly is also very extensive, inasmuch as it is fully two coss in length. It is surrounded by a strong wall, which is, however, becoming dilapidated in many places; many houses also within the walls have already fallen down. Within and without the city, there are scattered about twenty monuments of the Potanensian Kings, very handsome. In this city the Kings of India are wont to hold their coronation, as that ceremony is not considered valid if held elsewhere. Two coss from the town is a house which was built for hunting purposes by the Potanensian Kings; it is said to have been constructed by Sultan Berusa [Fírúz?] a most powerful monarch of the Indians. Among other monuments of antiquity may be seen a very high obelisk, inscribed (as some affirm) with Greek characters, and placed here (as it is believed) by Alexander the Great. Similar obelisks are found in various parts of India, and, somewhat recently, one was dug up near Fetti-pore of a hundred cubits in length, which was broken by the carelessness of the workmen, as it was being transported with great difficulty to the capital.

THE PROVINCE OF PANG-AB OR PENIAB.—The route from the town of Delly to Lahor, the capital of the province of the Pang-ab, is as follows:—

From Delly to Naleron, fourteen coss; to Gonowr,† the same distance; to Panneput,‡ the same; to Carmal,§ the same. All this road is much infested by thieves. Hence to Tanassar,|| with

Muttra to Delhi, twenty-one miles south of the latter. There is a bazár here, and a large tank; and the town is surrounded by a wall. This town is called Farídábád after the name of Shaikh Faríd-i-Bukhári Murtazá Khán, who defeated Prince Khusrau at Bhaironwál.

* Selim's date is given by mistake, instead of that of Hamayun.

† Gonour, in the district of Pani-

put, on the route from Delhi to the British cantonment of Kurnaul.

‡ Paniput was described by Jacquemont as the largest town he had seen in Northern India, except Delhi. It is well-known as the scene of two famous battles.

§ This is obviously meant to be Kurnaul.

|| Thanesar in Sirhind, on the route from Kurnaul to Loodiana, celebrat-

its fortress, fourteen coss. Near this place is a beautiful tank,* and around it are many idolatrous temples (the Indians call them Pagodes), where one may see the monstrous idols† which these people most superstitiously venerate. Not far off are some pits from which Sal Armoniacus is taken. To Shabad‡ or Gobaden, ten coss; to Amballa,§ twelve; to Holloway, a saray, fourteen; to Siryna,|| seven. This town has a most beautiful tank; in the middle of the tank is a little house, the approach to which is by a bridge of stone supported on fifteen arches. At the distance of one coss from this is the royal garden, to which one is guided by a watercourse and a path paved with flints. This path is forty feet wide, and most pleasantly shaded by trees on both sides. The garden itself is in shape a square, each of whose sides is more than a coss in length. It is shut in by a brick wall. Within, it is planted with all manner of fruit-trees and vegetables and flowers; some authorities assure me that it is let at a yearly rent of fifty thousand rupees. In the midst, where four broad roads from the sides of the square meet and form a cross (each road is shaded on either side by lofty cypress trees), there is the royal residence, which is very artfully built, with a most pleasant verandah surrounding it, and with eight sets of female apartments. There are also eight bed-rooms in the upper part of the house; and on the summit is a very pleasant dining room.

From Syrina to Doropay¶ are fifteen coss; to Pulloceque (a Saray) thirteen; to Nicodar,** twelve; to Sultanpore,†† eleven; to Fettipore,‡‡ seven. Selim, who was formerly Emperor of India,

ed as the object of one of Mahmud of Ghaznin's iconoclastic expeditions. It is still surrounded by a ruined wall, evidently once of considerable height, connected with which is a dilapidated fort with numerous towers.

* The sacred lake of Kurket or Kurukshetra, the scene of the great battle between the Kauravas and Pandavas in the *Mahabharat*.

† Thornton tells us that on the walls of the houses in Thanesar "are depicted, in gaudy colours and of large dimensions, the grotesque figures of their monstrous idols."

‡ Shahabad, a town in Sirhind on the Saraswati.

§ The town of Umbeyla, now a great British cantonment.

|| Sirhind, the capital of the province of that name, is now a town in the State of Patiala. The gardens mentioned below are described by

Abul Fazl as laid out by Hafiz Rahmat, a grandee of Humayún's court.

¶ These two stations on the route given in the text (Doropay and Pulloceque) must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Loodiana or Phillour.

** Nakodur is a village north-west of Phillour, between the Sutlej and the Beas. The modern road from Lahore stops at this point.

†† Sultanpore, on a tributary of the Beas.

‡‡ Fettipore, the place where the road crosses the river Beas. The fight took place, as remarked on the preceding page, near Bhaironwál (also spelt Bhyrowal) and Jahángír made a new parganah to which he gave the name of Fathábád. The parganah was given to Shaikh Faríd-i-Bukhári Murtazá Khán as a present.

is said to have erected this saray to commemorate a battle won in this place by his forces over his eldest son, Sultan Cusheroo. They say that the circumstances of the affair were as follows:—Selim on a certain occasion having seriously offended his father Achabar, was afraid to meet him, and consequently retired into Purropia and seized the strong fortress of Halebassa. On this Achabar declared his grandson Cusheroo the heir to the empire. But Achabar died before Cusheroo was fully confirmed in his place; and Selim, by the help of his friends, seized the castle of Agra and got possession of his father's treasures. He then pursued his son, who was flying to Lahore. The forces of the latter were in this place routed, and he himself was at length captured and put into prison. Many have believed that he was deprived of his sight in prison, but this was not the case, as was subsequently proved.

From Fettiapore to Hogemoheede, ten coss; to Cancanna, a Saray, twelve coss; to Lahore, seven coss.

Lahore is by far the largest city in the East; for, in circuit, it is no less than twenty-four coss, following the ditch which was dug in former years by the command of the king, and the wall which was built under the auspices of Selim. In the time of the Potanensian Kings it was merely a village (Multhan was then in its glory), until it was enlarged by Hamaune. The city and suburbs are six coss in length. The royal citadel is surrounded by a very strong brick wall, and has twelve gates, nine of which lead to the suburbs, and three open on the river. The streets of the city are beautiful, and paved with flint. Its inhabitants are for the most part Baneanes and artificers. The houses are fine and lofty, and skilfully constructed with a view to strength. Those of the Gentiles are for the most part raised above six or seven steps, which are very difficult to ascend, being thus elevated both for the sake of security and also that the passers-by may be unable to look in.

The citadel is situated on the bank of the Ravee, a most pleasant river, which flows into the Indus. Very many boats of sixty tons burden and upwards descend the river after the close of the rains to Tatta, the emporium of Sinda. The voyage is one of about forty days by Multhan, Seetpore, Buchur, Rauree, &c. The river Ravee comes down from the east from the mountains of Cassimer, according to some authorities, and flows by this city on its northern side. The royal palace is within the citadel, on the bank of the river; here is the middle gate of the three which open on the river. The entrance from the city is by a broad gate, within which is a smaller one, which opens on a square, where the royal guards are. Turning hence to the left through another gate, one reaches an inner court in which is seen the King's Darbar; around the latter are the guard-houses of the Guard of Nobles. Hence one passes into another court,

in the midst of which is the King's Devouca, with some bed-chambers, in which the king is wont to lie in the evening from eight o'clock to eleven. On the wall of this building is a painting of the king, sitting with crossed legs under a magnificent canopy. On his right are Sultan Poruesius,* Sultan Caroonius,† and Timor with his sons. Next to them are Sha Morat‡ and Dan Sha,§ the brothers of the king; then Emyrza Sheriff|| the elder brother of Can Asom. (This nobleman is said to be so rich that he does not allow the garments of his concubines, having been once worn, ever to be put on again, but he orders them to be buried in the ground until they decay. Moreover, he maintains five hundred torch-bearers, they call them Massalgeas, so that when he travels from Agra to his house, which is only one coss distant from the town, not a single torch-bearer moves from his place with his torch, but they are stationed along the whole road.) Next to this nobleman is Emyrsa Rosthan,¶ formerly King of Candahar; then Can Canna;** Cuttuph Caun;†† Rahia Manisengo; Caun Asom;‡‡ Asoph Caun;§§ Scheck Fereed; Kelish Caun;||| and Rahia Juggonath,¶¶

* Sultan Parwiz.

† Sultan Khurram, afterwards Shahjahan.

Timor is probably meant for Tahmuras, the eldest son of Prince Daniyal; he married Sultan Bahár Begam, a daughter of Jahángir; and was consequently at once the nephew and the son-in-law of the king. On the death of Jahángir, Tahmuras joined Shahryár, and was taken prisoner by Asaf Khan at the battle on the Ravee; he was soon afterwards put to death, by the command of Shahjahan.

‡ Morad Shah.

§ Danyal Shah. These two must have been posthumous portraits, for both Morad and Danyal died during the lifetime of their father Akbar.

|| Mírzá Sharif was the *atálik*, or governor of Sháh Murád. Khán A'zam was the title of Atgah Khán (Akbar's foster-father). Mírzá Sharif was his *younger* brother. After Atgah Khán's death, the title of Khán A'zam was bestowed upon his son Mírzá 'Aziz Kokah (Akbar's foster-brother). Mírzá Sharif therefore is his uncle.

¶ Akbar regained possession of Kandahar in 1594. The nobleman mentioned in the text (Mírzá Rus-

tam) was a Persian Prince of the Safawí family, and had been the Persian governor. See note, page 68. He was subsequently (1626) made governor of Behar by Jahangir.

** The Khan-Khanan.

†† Kutb Khan, the younger brother of Atgah Khán and Mírzá Sharif; He was *atálik* to Jahángir. Muzaffar of Gujrát killed him.

‡‡ This is Aziz, the Khan-i-Azam, who was Akbar's foster brother and father-in-law of Prince Khusrau.

§§ This is Asaf Khán Jáfar Beg, one of Akbar's *díwáns*, a man of great learning, and an excellent poet. He was *atálik* to Prince Parwiz, and died in 1021 A.H., at Burhampúr.

The next grandee is Shaikh Farid-i-Bukharí, mentioned above.

||| In a letter from the factor Keridge at Agra to the English Council at Surat, dated September 7th, 1613, we are informed that "Quileatch Chan hath had an overthrow at Cabul." He was employed in putting down the rebellion of the Kosheniyas. Qilich Khán in the 17th year of Akbar's reign was made governor of Surat, which Akbar had conquered. He died towards the end of 1613 at Pesháwur.

¶¶ Raja Jagannath, son of Raja Biharí Mall, and brother of Raja

(on whose death, it is said that seven of his friends, together with his sister and his brother's son, leapt on the funeral pile of their own accord). On the left of the King is Rahia Bousingh,* driving away the flies with a little flap; Rahia Ramdas,† holding the king's sword; Cleriff Khan; Mocrib Boucan;‡ Rahia Bossu, Rahia Ransing; Majo Kesso,§ and Lalla Bersing.¶ Moreover in the same portico, on the right hand portion of the wall whereon the king is painted as above described, there is a picture of the Saviour and the Virgin-mother above the doors. There are besides very many halls and women's apartments in this palace, to describe which at greater length would be tedious. But there is one portico which must not be unnoticed, on the wall of which are painted the progenitors of this King Selim: viz., his father Achabar, his grandfather Hamaun, and his great-grandfather Babur; the last of whom first came into India (as we shall narrate elsewhere §) with thirty followers in the guise of Kalenders. Beyond the western gate of the fortress there is the ferry across the river, from which the royal road leads to Kabul. The whole country on the other side of the river is singularly pleasant.

Other authorities give a slightly different route|| from Delly to Lahore as follows:—From Delly to Bunyra, ten coss; to Cullower, 12 coss; to Pampette, a small but beautiful town, twelve coss; to Karnal, as many; to Tanissar, fourteen coss; to Shabad, ten; to Gangur, or Mogol Saray, fifteen; to Sina, an ancient town famous for

Bhagwan Das. He died in the beginning of Jahangir's reign.

* Raja Bhao Singh was the son and successor of the famous Raja Man Singh mentioned above.

† Mocrob Khan was the governor of Cambaya at the time of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, and is well known for his inveterate hostility to the English. At first he was thought to be friendly, as we discover from an indent sent home from the factory at Surat:—"Almain blades; the governor of Cambaya, who is also our patron here, called *Mocrow Bowcan*, desireth 1,000 for himself, but I doubt whether he would be as big as his word or no." This indent is dated August 30, 1609.

His name was Shaikh Hasan, alias Hassú. He was looked upon as the best surgeon at Akbar's court. Jahangir was much attached to him. He gave no satisfaction as governor

of Gujrat and was removed. Shah-jahan pensioned him off, and gave him the parganah of Kairánah (near Saháranpúr), his birth-place, as a present.

‡ Rai Ram Das Diwan, Kesu, and Lallah (son of Raja Bír Bal) were all at Akbar's court. Rai Rai Singh's daughter was one of Jahangir's wives. Raja Basú is the well-known zamindar of Mau and Pathan (Panjab).

§ In the *Fragmentum Historiæ Indicæ*.

|| This route may be the one on the eastern bank of the Jumna from Delhi to Kurnaul, unless Pampette be only another form of Paniput. In the latter case, the road is the same as that described at page 75, the halting-places being slightly different. Kurnaul and Tanissar are described in the former route, and Pullower is evidently Phillour.

the manufacture of cotton cloths, fourteen ; to Duratia, fifteen ; to Pullower, eleven. But before arriving at this place, the Sietmagus* a broad river has to be crossed, which flows down to the west and at length falls into the Indus. To Nicondar,† a small town, eleven coss ; to Sultanpore, an ancient town, washed by the river on the north, . . . ; to Chuirmal, eleven coss. In this stage the river Van‡ has to be crossed, which is very broad and flows westward into the Indus. To Cancanna, a Saray, seventeen coss ; to Lahore, seven coss.

The whole of the country between Agra and Lahore is well cultivated, and by far the most fertile part of India. It abounds in all kinds of produce, especially in sugar. The highway is hedged on either side by trees which bear a fruit not unlike the fig. At intervals of five or six coss, there are Sarays built either by the king or by some of the nobles. In these travellers can find bed and lodging ; when a person has once taken possession, he may not be turned out by any one.

THE PROVINCE OF KABUL.—The road from Lahore to Kabul is very much infested by Potanensian (Pathán) thieves ; and although the King has placed at certain intervals no less than twenty-three detachments of guards, travellers are nevertheless frequently robbed by these bandits. They even, in the year 1611, surprised the City of Kabul and plundered it. The road is as follows :—

From Lahore, crossing the river Ravee, there are ten coss to Googes,§ a Saray ; to Emenbade,|| a pretty town, eight ; to Chumaguckor,¶ a large city, twelve coss ; to Guzarat,** a celebrated mart, fourteen coss. In this stage, and seven coss from the latter town, the road crosses a very broad river, the Chantrow.††

From Guzarat to Howaspore,‡‡ twelve coss ; to Loure-Rotas,§§ a town with a strong fortress situated on the top of a hill, fifteen

* The Sietmagus is of course the Sutlej, crossed near Phillour.

† Nicondar and Sultanpur have been described in the first route. Chuirmal appears to be a village on the road, west of the Beas.

‡ This is the Beas, which is crossed by the modern road between Sultanpur and Naurangabad.

§ Nearly due north of Lahore, and west of Meance, is marked on modern maps Serai-Khojake.

|| Emenabad is a town on the modern road from Lahore to Wazirabad, about thirty-three miles from the former.

¶ The site of this city must be

somewhere between Gujuru-wala and Wazirabad. It is very likely Talwandí Chimián Gakhar.

** Gujarat is about eight miles from the right bank of the Chenab. It is now famous as the scene of Lord Gough's victory in 1849.

†† The Chenab in its upper course is usually called the Chandra, of which this name is evidently a corruption.

‡‡ Khowaspur is a village north-west of Gujarat.

§§ Rotas is an extensive fort, six miles west of the right or western bank of the Jhelum. The interior is two miles and-a-half long, and is of an oblong

coss. This was formerly the boundary of the Potanensian Kingdom. To Hattea, fifteen ; to Puckouw, four ; to Raulepende,* fourteen ; to Collapanne,† fifteen ; to Hassanabdal,‡ four coss. This is a beautiful town on the banks of a little river : near it are some most beautiful tanks, filled with innumerable fishes, in the mouths of which Achabar is said to have had golden rings fastened. The water is so singularly limpid and pellucid that the bottom can be seen even in the deepest parts. To Attock, a town with a very strong fortress§ washed by the waters of the Indus, fifteen coss ; to Pishore,|| thirty-six coss ; to Alleek,¶ a mosque, ten coss. The road here is exposed to the attacks of some enemies of the king, who can bring into the field some ten or twelve thousand cavalry. To Ducka,** twelve coss ; to Beshoule,†† six ; to Abareek, six ; to Alebogan,‡‡ nine. This town is on the banks of a great river, the Cow,§§ which descends from Kabul. To Gelala-

narrow form, having its two sides and eastern end resting upon the edge of ravines, which divide it from a table-land of elevation equal to that of the hill on which the fort stands. The western face of the plateau is washed by the small river Gham running at its base. The fort was built by Shér Sháh, and extended by Salém Sháh, as a check on the wild Gakhar tribe.

* Rawal Pindí is about sixty-eight miles east of the Indus ; it is well-known as a British cantonment. De Laët's route coincides minutely with Jahángír's route from Rahtá's to Kabul, so excellently described by the emperor in his memoirs (*Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, Sayyid Ahmad's edition, pp. 46 to 51), where the curious will find the etymologies of the names Hattiá and Pakkah, chronicles and interesting descriptions of Rawalpindí, the Kálápání, and the fish-tanks near Hasan Abdál, with Raja Man Singh's villa.

† Kalipani is now called Kalisura, and is a few miles south of Huzara.

‡ Hassan-Abdul, about twenty-four miles from the Indus, and very near Huzara, was so called from its being the burial-place of a Muhammadan saint of that name, known in Kandahar as Baba Wákí. This valley was the favourite resting-place of the Moghul emperors in their

annual migrations to Kashmir, but the gardens and palaces have long gone to ruin.

§ This fortress was erected by Akbar in 1581.

|| Peshawar.

¶ This locality is called Ali Masjid, a halting place in the Khyber district, named from a Muhammadan saint called Hazrat Ali. See Masson's *Travels in Afghanistan*, &c. vol. 1, page 149. The "King's enemies" here mentioned were probably the Afredí tribes of Khyberis. Masson says they can now muster, according to their own account, forty thousand fighting men.

** This is now called Daka, described by Masson as "a small fort and village dependent on Jelalabad, at the mouth of the Khyber Pass."

†† Called by Masson, Bassowal, where he found an enclosed village and two or three agricultural castles. He says, "it appears to occupy an ancient site."

‡‡ This is Ali Baghan, between Surhh Dewal and Jelalabad, called in some maps Alea Boolghan.

§§ Masson says of this river, "the central river [of the tributaries of the Kabul River] which joins that of Nad-jil, is more considerable, and is said to have a far longer course. It is the only one which has a peculiar name, or one independent of the localities

bade,* four coss; to Lowre-Charebage,† four; to Budde-Charebage, six; to Nomla,‡ eight; to Gondoma,§ four; to Surcrood,|| a saray, four. At this place is a little river, whose waters are red, and are said to be very beneficial to a weak stomach. To Zagdele,¶ eight coss; to Abereek,** eight; to Dowabam, eight, and across a huge mountain; to Buttacaucke,†† eight; to Kamree, three; and finally to Kabul, three.

Kabul is a very extensive city, having two very strong fortresses and very many sarays. It was formerly the capital of the ancestors of the king who now rules over India.

About twenty coss beyond this town is Chare-Cullow,‡‡ a very pleasant city; and about twenty coss further is the great city of Gorebond,§§ on the frontiers of the Usbecq territory, the capital of which is Samarcand.

The kingdom of Kabul (says Texeira) was formerly subject to Persia. The journey from Kabul to Lahore formerly occupied three months, for it was necessary to make a great circuit on account of the robbers. Now it can be performed in twenty or twenty-five days, since a great number of forts have been constructed on the Royal road at certain intervals. From this province is obtained a species of *mirabolani*, which are called in the shops Kebuli; the Arabs and Persians call this fruit *Alilah*, and the Indians have corrupted the name into Arare.

From Kabul to Cascar,||| they say, is a journey of three months by caravan. Cascar is a most extensive kingdom, subject to a Tartar prince. Its principal mart is called Yar-Chaun; ¶¶

through which it passes, and is called Kow, pronounced exactly as the English word Cow. . . . Of the river Kow nothing is known, beyond the fact of its junction with the former at Targari, having traversed the eastern part of the valley of Lughman, named Alingar."

* Jelalabad.

† Either this village or the next on this route must be the Chahar-Bagh of Masson. This route is still the high road between Peshawur and Kabul, but Masson diverged considerably from it, both between the Khyber Pass and Jelalabad, and also west of the latter place, for greater security of travelling.

‡ Nimla.

§ Gandamak.

|| Masson says, "besides the Kabul river, the plain is copiously irrigated by other streams, and not-

ably by the Surkh-Rúd (the red river), which enters it from the west and falls into the main river at Darunta." The name of the river is here given to the serai on its banks.

¶ Called by Masson Jigdillak; mentioned also by Elphinstone as one of the chief towns of this district.

** Marked in Elphinstone's map as Bareekah.

†† Bhut Khak, near Khurd Kabul, or little Kabul. See Masson, vol. 1, page 188.

‡‡ This is probably Cherekur on the road to Ghorband.

§§ The town of Ghorband, the capital of the district of that name, is the most important place in the Kohistan of Kabul.

||| Kashgar.

¶¶ Yarkand.

from which is brought a great quantity of silk, musk, rhubarb, and other merchandise. These commodities are brought from the realm of China into this country, for it is said that it is only three months' journey from the Chinese territory.

What we have said above about the length of the journey from Lahore to Kabul as it was formerly, is fully confirmed by the itinerary of Benedict à Goes, a Portuguese Jesuit. He started from Lahore on the sixth of January 1603, and arrived in Athoc (or Attock as we called it above) in the space of one month. Thence after two months he arrived at Passaur; thence, by a journey of twenty days, he went to Gidele,* and the same number of days brought him from Gidele to Kabul. From Kabul he went to Ciarcar;† and thence to Parva,‡ which is the last town that is subject to the Mogul.

THE PROVINCE OF CHYSMERE OR CASSIMERE.—The road from the city of Lahore into the extensive province of Cassimere is as follows. Taking at first the route given above to the famous mart Guzarat, we then turn towards the north from this city to Bimbar, § sixteen coss. To Joagek-Hateley, fourteen coss; to Cinguesque-Hately, || ten coss; to Peckly, ¶ ten; to Conowa, twelve; hence to the mountainous Hastchauneket-gate (on the top of which there is a beautiful plateau), eight coss. From this place to the metropo-

* This is probably the Zagdele or Jigdillak mentioned above.

† This is doubtless the Charekur mentioned above in Kohistan.

‡ Perwan is a town close to the southern slope of the Hindu Kush mountains. Masson states that Benedict Goetz, a Jesuit, crossed the Hindu Kush in 1603, by the pass of Perwan, to Anderab.

§ Called by Rennell Behmbur or Bember. Abul Fazl makes Bember one of the sub-divisions of the Subah of Kashmir. He adds, "There are twenty-six roads into Hindustan, but those of Bember and Puckoli are the best."

|| At Chingiz Hatli Jahángár died. De Laët here helps us to fix the correct pronunciation of the name; vide *Calcutta Review*. October, 1869, on the death of Jahángír.

¶ Abul Fazl says that Kashmir has "Puckoli and Krishnagunga on the west." Krishnagunga or Kisingunga is the name of a river

(said in the *Ain-i-Akbari* to contain gold-dust) in the district of Pehkely or Puckely. Mr. Forster (who travelled in these parts in 1784) was obliged to avoid this district on account of its disturbed state. Rennell says of it: "Pehkely, I take to be the Pactya of Herodotus, Bk. iv., (as well as the Peucelaotis of Arrian) from whence Scylax set out to explore the course of the Indus," under the orders of Darius Hystaspes. But this is wrong, as the Peucelaotis of Arrian was west of the Indus, and Pakhalé is on the east (Arrian iv, 22).

The district of Pah'kalí according to the *Akbarnámah* was 3½ kos long and 25 broad. During Akbar's reign it was ruled over by Sultán Husain Khán, a descendant of the Kárlughas, which tribe was left in Pah'kalí by Timur on his return from India to Turan. The district after a short resistance was annexed by Akbar in the 35th year of his reign.

lis Cassimere,* which some call Syrinaker, is a distance, of eight coss through a most delightful country.

The city is situated on the river Bahat.† The plain around it, as far as the mountains, is said to be about a hundred and fifty coss in length and fifty coss in breadth; and to abound in all manner of crops. The women of this country are said to be of a white colour. The climate is somewhat cold; there are frosts and deep snows in the winter. The country is almost contiguous to Cascar, but divided from it by such inaccessible mountains that there is no possibility of caravans passing between the two realms: now and then the journey across the mountain has been accomplished with the utmost difficulty on foot. In these mountainous regions are the dominions of a Prince named Tibbon; he is very poor and with few resources; yet on one occasion he sent one of his daughters to be married to Selim the Emperor of India.‡ This country is also contiguous to the two kingdoms of Thebet. Its chief product is saffron.

In the itinerary of Benedict à Goes is shown the route to Cascar from the kingdom of Kabul; which we consider sufficiently important to be inserted here. He set out from Parua, the boundary town of Kabul, and after a most difficult journey of five days over lofty and almost impassable mountains, he descended into the country of Aingar;§ and then after fifteen days he came to Calcia,|| whose inhabitants, he says, are like our Dutch countrymen. Thence, by a journey of ten days, he went to Gialalabattia; where the Bramenes exact tribute in the name of King Bruarates. Then, after fifteen days' journey, he arrived at Talha; thence to Cheman, which is a town subject to Abdulahan, the King of Samarhan, Burgavia,¶ Bacharate, and other provinces. Thence, by a difficult journey of eight days, to

* This city is called Cashmere by Bernier and Forster, and most travellers of the last century; but in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and all other native histories it is called Sirinagur.

† The Behat or Jhelum. See, Part I, *Calcutta Review*, No. CII page 339, note.

‡ Moghul historians called him *Ali Râi*, ruler of Little Tibet. Jahângir married his daughter in 1591.

§ This is Anderab, mentioned by Masson (see note above); it is placed in Elphinstone's map north of the Hindu Kush, east of Ghori (called by Rennell, Gaur) and south-east of Kunduz. It is in the country of the Sia-

posh tribes, in the south-east of Balkh, the ancient Bactria.

|| This is probably Chal, placed by Elphinstone near Kunduz. If this be correct, Benedict Goetz made a long circuit between Anderab and Badahshan.

¶ Burgavia and Bacharate are evidently two forms of Bokhara.

Abdulahan is the well-known Abdullah Khán, Uzbek, of Bukhará, the contemporary of Akbar, Jahângir and Sháhjahán.

Talha, just now mentioned may be Talk or Talki, Long 81°, Lat. 41°, near the Ili River, which flows into the Balkash. Chaman is Chaman-kand N. E. of Tashkand.

Badascian* and Ciarcunar; thence, in ten days, to Serpanill; and, in twenty days more, to Sarcil,† a province containing a great number of villages. Two days' journey from this place is a mountain called Ciecialith‡ white with snow. Having crossed this mountain with great loss of men through the intense cold, the travellers arrived at Tanghetar,§ in the kingdom of Cascar; in fifteen days they arrived at Jaconich, and at length they reached Hiarchan, (or, as we have above called it, Yar-Chaun,) the Capital of the Kingdom of Cascar. Benedict set out from this place with a caravan in the middle of November 1604; he visited Jolci, Hancialix-Alceyhet, Hagabethet, Egriar, Mesetelec, Thalec, Horma, Thoantac, Mingrieda, Capetalcol, Zilan, Sarc, Guedebal, Canbaschi, Aconsersec, Ciacor, and Acsu,|| by an extremely difficult journey of twenty-five days over rocks and deserts. They call the deserts Caracathay; thence he came to Ortograch, Gazo, Cascia, Dellas, Saregabedal, Ugan, and Cucia; and thence, by a twenty-five days' journey, to Ciali, the Governor and Sovereign of which place is an illegitimate son of the king of Cascar. Thence, in twenty days, he came to Pucia; then to Turpha, a fortified town; then Aramuth, and finally to Camul,¶ the furthest town of the kingdom of Ciali. Nine days' journey from this place brings one to the wall which fortifies the kingdom of the Chinese on the north. But let us return to the point whence we set out.

THE COUNTRIES WHICH LIE EAST AND SOUTH OF LAHORE.— Crossing the river Ravee, and following its course upwards towards the east, we come to the province subject to Raja Bossow, whose metropolis is called Temmery,** fifty coss from Lahore. This

* This is of course Faizabad, in the district of Badakshan. The road appears to strike due north from this place, until it reaches the Oxus or Panj-Amu, the valley of which it probably follows to the passes over the Belot Tagh.

† This is Sarkil, and is evidently identical with Elpinstone's Surik-Kol, a town on the route from Badakshan to Yarkand, close to the southern slope of the Karakorum mountains, or Muz Tagh. There is also a lake here, from which issues the Oxus or Amu.

‡ This is obviously a peak of the Karakorum.

§ Marked Tungee Tar in Elphinstone's map. It is immediately north of the Pass of Chiltung over the Karakorum leading from Surik-Kol.

|| Acsu, or Aksu, is a town on the caravan route, east of Kashgar.

¶ This is Khamil or Hamil, in Central Mongolia, about Long. 95°. West of it towards Long. 90° lies Turfan, which is not to be confounded with Ush or Ush-Turfán N. E. of Káshghar. Cucia, mentioned above, may be Kutshe, about half-way between Káshghar and Turfan.

** This territory lies between the Bias and the Ravi. Rája Báśú zamindar of Pathán (Pathan Kot) and Man, was mentioned above. De Laté's Temmery should be Dhaméri (Long. 75° 40', Lat. 32° 12') the old name of Núrpúr. To honour Jahángír, whose name was Núrud-dín, Rájah Báśú changed the old name Dhaméri to Núrpúr. The

prince is most powerful, but he is subject to the Mogul Emperor, and a great favourite. From his territories very many simples are brought, which are obtained in great abundance in the mountainous districts.

To this are adjacent the territories of another Raja, whom they call Tulluck-Chan. His metropolis is Nogarcut,* eighty coss from Lahore, and the same distance from Siryna. Here there is a famous temple or pagode called Io or Durga, about which many marvels are told. This prince sometimes becomes so insolent on account of the inaccessible mountains which he inhabits, as not to regard even the majesty of the Mogul.

Next to him, on the east, is Decamperga, a very powerful prince, whose capital is Calsery, one hundred and fifty coss from Agra. This province is so populous, that in a very short time he can collect an army of fifty thousand men—chiefly infantry, the country not possessing many horses.

Adjacent to this province, on the east, between the Rivers Jemina and Ganges, is the province of Raja Mansa. This prince is so rich that his food is always given to him on dishes of solid gold. His capital is Serenagar.† It is shut in by mountains called the Dow-lager, whose summits are covered with snow, though the country is not more than forty degrees north of the equator. It is a very fertile region, distant from Agra two hundred coss, from Syrina fifty.

Across the Ganges a most powerful prince rules, called Raja Rodorow.‡ He possesses a very extensive mountainous territory, the metropolis of which is Camoio;§ its limits are said to extend to those of China. He can bring into the field an immense force of infantry, but cannot use cavalry on account of the steepness of the mountains, whilst elephants are excluded by the cold. He has, however, a race of horses which they call *Gunts*; these seem to be formed by nature for climbing steep mountains.

To the south, across the channels of the Ganges, a very powerful Mugg Rajah possesses a province which abounds in horses and

numerous Núrþúrs in the Punjab refer all to Jahángír or Núr Jahán.

* Nagarcot, or Kangra, has already been described. Part I, *Calcutta Review*, No. CII, p. 344. Regarding the Durga Temple, *vide Calcutta Review*, for October, 1869.

† Srinagar in Gurhwal, formerly the residence of the Rajas of Gurhwal.

‡ Rudra.

§ This is undoubtedly Kumaon. Buchanan relates that Akbar sent an

army into Kumaon, which besieged Almora, but was defeated by the Raja Rudra. The latter, pursuing his success, advanced into the plain and made himself master of a considerable tract along the base of the mountains. Akbar, in accordance with his usual policy, granted these lands to the Raja in jagir, and treated him with great favour, allowing him to coin money. In the 33rd year of Akbar's reign, he paid his respects personally at court.

elephants; it is said that there are also some very rich diamond mines. Below this district, and amongst the mouths of the Ganges, a Pathan prince reigns,* who is descended from the kings of Delly. The Mogul has never been able to subdue him on account of the many branches of the Ganges and the numerous islands. His territory is adjacent to Purropia, into which he makes frequent incursions, so that the Mogul is compelled to maintain a large garrison here at a great expense.

Hence to the mouths of the Ganges the whole country is subject to the Mogul, with the exception of one fortress which is held by some Portuguese exiles. Across the Ganges is the powerful realm of Arracan, which is bounded on the east by Siam, Ova,† and Jangoma.‡ Between Tanassar and Arracan is the kingdom of Pegu, now somewhat extensive; south of which are Queda,§ Malacca, &c. On the shores of this sea the Mogul King has two chief ports—Ougolee|| which the Portuguese unlawfully hold; and Pipileya¶ called by some Petepoli, which is fifteen degrees and thirty-six minutes north of the equator. Beyond which, passing westward through the province of Orixá, we reach the province of Golconda, which Selim endeavoured to conquer in the year 1609. Its principal port is Musulipatam,** which is distant from the equator

* This can only refer to the descendants of Osman, the Lohári Afghan, who after his wars with Mán Singh in Orissa and Bengal, received lands east of Dacca. Osman was defeated in Eastern Bengal and killed by the imperialists in the seventh year of Jahángír's reign.

† Ava.

‡ Probably Changamai, to the east of Ava. The East India Company had an agent here as early as 1614; and we have frequent mention of the place in the early records of the India Office. In a letter from Patani in Siam (the head quarters of the early British trade east of Surat) dated July 28, 1614, the writer says:—"Could more of the factors from Bantam have been spared, I would have taken them for the trade betwixt Siam and Langfan, Jangama, Pegu, &c." In the same letter is an account of the difficulties of the trade through Ava; "the King of Pegu making war against the King of Siam."

§ That part of the Malay peninsula which is opposite to Prince of Wales'

Island, and which contains Wellesley Province, is still called Queda. The Portuguese had an extensive trade in these parts in the sixteenth century. In a Report from Fulke Greville (in the interest of the East India Company, and to obtain the charter shortly afterwards granted by Queen Elizabeth) to secretary Sir Robert Cecil, is the following:—"The Portugals also traffic at Narsinga, Orixen, and Bengalen; also at Aracan, Pegu, Siam, Tanassria, and Queda."

|| Hooghly; see below, p. 101.

¶ By comparing this passage with the sentence that follows, and with the mention of Pipley below, it is evident that the port intended is Pipley near Balasore (described in Part I, *Calcutta Review*, No. CII, p. 347) long the headquarters of British trade in these parts. But the latitude given is that of Pettapoli, a port situated a little to the south of Masulipatam.

** The latitude of Masulipatam is given a little too far south. This was the great mart for the trade between Surat on the west, and Patani and

fifteen degrees and fifty-seven minutes, north. The royal cities are Braganadar,* and Golconda,† very recently founded. Following the shore of the sea further, we reach the kingdom of Bisnagar,‡ in which the Portuguese hold the towns of St. Thomas,§ and Negapatan.|| But of these we shall speak hereafter.

THE PROVINCE OF PURROPIA.—The route from Agra to Halabasse, which is a fortress in Purroopia, is as follows ;—From Agra, across the river Jemina, to Amedipore,¶ eight coss. Here a large quantity of indigo is prepared which they call Cole ; it is of inferior quality and is either consumed in India or sent to Samarcand and Cascar, but never exported to Europe. Hence to Itay,**

the numerous stations in the archipelago on the east. A factory was established here in 1611 ; at this time "Cattabashaw" (Kutb Shah), the King of Golconda, was called governor of Masulipatam. In the beginning of 1616, the factor here wrote to Sir Thomas Roe, that "the land is altogether revolted, and in an uproar through the war betwixt the Mogul's son [this was the occasion of Shah-jahan's great expedition to the Deccan, when Malik Amber was compelled to submit to the Mogul on the part of his nominal sovereign Nizam Shah, and to restore the fortress of Ahmadnagar] and Nissamshaw and the king of this place named Cattabashaw." He adds that he has come to an agreement with the governor of Masulipatam to pay 4 per cent customs on goods, money to be free ; the Dutch at the neighbouring port of Pettapoli paid only 3½ per cent, and had compounded for all customs at Masulipatam by a single payment of 20,000 ryals and the promise of 4,000 ryals a year.

* This is of course Bhagnagar, the Hindu name for Hydrabad. Rennell says, "Hydrabad or Bagnagar is the present capital of the Nizams of the Deccan ; who since the dismemberment of their empire, have left Aurungabad, their ancient capital." Kutb Kuli founded the dynasty of Kutb Shah at Golconda near Hydrabad about the year 1500.

† Golconda is described by Rennell as a "celebrated fortress, occupy-

ing the summit of a hill of a conical form ; about 5 or 6 miles WNW of Hydrabad and joined to it by a wall of communication." He adds, "it is deemed impregnable." The town is now in ruins ; the fortress, wherein are deposited the treasures, &c., of the Nizam, is in good order ; but is commanded by the summits of many of the surrounding mausolea of the former kings of Hydrabad.

‡ This is of course Bijayanagar. The power of the rajas of Bijayanagar or Carnata was destroyed by a confederacy of the Musalman kings of the Deccan in the battle of Talicot, A.D. 1565.

§ In the district of Chingleput, and about three miles from Madras to the south. St. Thomas was one of the most important stations of the Portuguese on the Coromandel coast. It subsequently belonged successively to the French, the Dutch, the King of Golconda, the Nabob of Arcot ; and has been in British possession since the wars in the Carnatic. Its native name is Mailapur ; it is often called in travellers' accounts, Meliapore.

¶ Negapatan near one of the mouths of the Cauvery. It was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1661 ; and thenceforward became the headquarters of the Dutch trade on the Coromandel coast.

¶ Amedipore is probably Muhammadpur, on the road from Agra to Calpee.

** This is doubtless Etawa, which

twelve coss. Here formerly one of the Potanensian kings dwelt, but now the city is nearly in ruins. The fort is situated on the top of a mountain which is precipitous on all sides. It is surrounded with a double wall. On its gate a human face is sculptured, which the Indians regard with a superstitious awe, and worship it by anointing it profusely with oil. Hence to Chappergat* twelve coss; here there is such a splendid saray that it looks like a fortress rather than a hostelry. To Menepore† twelve coss; and then along the bank of the Ganges to Halabasse, twenty coss.

The city is on the banks of the Ganges, and was formerly called Praye. Various Potanensian (Pathan) kings vainly endeavoured to erect a fortress here, but Achabar, the Mogul king, at length laid its foundations, and (as we are told) employed for many years more than twenty thousand workmen upon it. Nevertheless, it is not even yet completed. It is situated on the angle where the Jemina joins the Ganges. It is surrounded by three-fold walls; the one on the outside, which is the most lofty, is built of hewn red stones. In the interior is a column, or obelisk, standing fifty cubits out of the ground, and having (as it is believed) a far greater length buried in the soil.‡ It must have been the work of some great prince; all the Indians believe it to be Alexander's. Moreover, there is here a most magnificent royal palace, under which in a subterranean cavern are some Pagodas, the monuments, as the Indians vainly think, of Baba Adam and Mama Havah§ and their first offspring. They are persuaded that the first man either was created here, or, at all events, resided here a long time, and they profess to follow his religion. To these monuments people flock from all the provinces of India. Before they enter, they bathe in the Ganges, and shave their heads and beards; when they have performed these rites, they believe that they are cleansed from all sins.

From this town in the months of October and November, on the breaking up of the snows, many boats descend the river to Bengal. The navigation is very perilous.

Four coss below the town, on the right and left banks of the river respectively, are two strong fortresses, Harrayle|| and Hussoe, built by the Potanensians.

was a town of great importance under the Muhammadans. The son-in-law of Baber was its governor.

* Chuppughatee, in the district of Cawnpore, is a village on the route from Allahabad to Etawa, and 74 miles south-east of the latter. It is on the river Seengoor or Kurun, here crossed by a ford.

† Manikpur, in Oudh, a town for-

merly of much importance, but now much decayed.

‡ The well-known *Gada*, or club of Bhim Sen. The notice in the text is, perhaps, the earliest mention that we have of this column.

§ i.e., Mother Eve.

|| This is probably Arail, which is however not so far from Allahabad. Hussee is Jhozi.

In this province of Purropia is situated Potana,* a vast city, with a fortified citadel, in which the royal treasures are kept. From this town the Potanensian kings derived their name, of whom I have had to speak on several occasions; or rather, they gave their name to the town. Emerging from the mountains between Candahar and Kabul, they spread themselves over India; and having conquered Rase Pethory,† the king of Delhi, for a long time they were supreme in the country, until at length they were conquered by the Moguls in their turn.

THE ROUTE FROM AGRA TO JOUNPORE.—From Agra to Cannouwe,‡ one hundred and thirty coss towards the east. It is a large town, but surrounded by no walls; it is at the foot of a hill, on the summit of which is a strong fortress. The Ganges§ used formerly to flow round this hill, but now it has broken through a bank about four miles distant, and only a little channel is left that preserves its name.

From Cannouwe to Lacanouwe,|| thirty coss; this also is a great mart. To Oudee,¶ fifty coss; this is an ancient city, and was once the seat of the Potanensian Kings; it is still rather extensive.

Not far from the town are seen the ruins of the fortress and palace of Ranichand,** whom the Indians consider the chief of the gods. They say that he became incarnate, in order to go and see the great Tamasha†† of the world. Amongst these ruins, certain Bramenes dwell. These very carefully take down the names of all those who have properly purified their bodies in the neighbouring river; and this custom has been preserved for very many centuries, according to their fabulous stories. At the distance

* Patna is described in the first part as the metropolis of a province of the same name.

† This name is evidently a corruption of that of Raja Prithwi. He was also called Raja Pithora.

‡ The celebrated town of Kanouj.

§ The Ganges is now ten miles distant from the town; but the "four miles" are probably Dutch miles, and in that case the relative position has been unaltered for the last two hundred and fifty years. The "little channel" of the text is now called the Kali Nadi.

|| Lucknow.

¶ Oudh or Ajodhya, close to the modern site of Fyzabad, probably the most ancient city of India. The statement in the text, that it "is

still rather extensive," is hardly strong enough to bear out the assertion in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, that it was at that time, though decayed, still one of the largest towns in India.

** Still called the Ramghur. Popular tradition assigns the destruction of these palaces or temples to Aurangzib; but the statement in the text shows that they were in ruins, at all events before 1631. An inscription on the mosque on the site states that it was founded by Baber.

†† Thus writes De Laët:—"ut magnam mundi Tamasham viseret." This was, doubtless, the expression used by the Brahmans about Vishnu's seventh avatar as Rama; it does not appear whether De Laët understood the word *tamasha*.

of about two miles from these ruins is a cave; its mouth is very narrow, but within, it is so spacious, and bewildering on account of its numerous recesses, that it is difficult to find one's way out again. Here the ashes of that god are said to be hidden. People come hither from all parts of India; and after duly paying their devotions to the idol, they take away with them, as a testimony of their visit, certain grains of rice which are blacker than coal, which also, as they believe, have been preserved here for many ages.

From Oudee to Achabarpore,* thirty coss. From this place about thirty coss, off this road, is Bonarce,† a grand emporium for the merchandise of Bengal. To Jounpore,‡ thirty coss. This town is situated on the banks of a river whose banks are connected by a noble bridge, on which many houses are built. It boasts of a citadel,§ formerly a seat of the Potanensian kings, and some very elegant buildings. The town is said to be about eight or ten coss in circumference.

Returning to Halebasse by another road in the direction of Agra one hundred and ten coss, whereof thirty are through a vast and continuous forest.

THE ROUTE FROM AGRA TO HAMETEWAT, OR AMADAVAR.—From Agra|| to Amadavat, in the province of Guzurate, the road passes through Fettiport,¶ Scanderbade,** Hindoine,†† Chenigom, Mogolseray, Nonnigong, at the foot of the mountains which are held by two Rahias of the middle rank. Hence, to the left, the mountains of Marva (of which we have elsewhere spoken) stretch, covering a vast extent of country. Further, through Gamgram, Charroit, the seat of the ancestors of Rahia Manising,‡‡ through Landany,§§ Monsalde, Bramderandem, to Asmeer.

* Akbarpur is a small town in Oudh on the road from Fyzabad to Jounpur, and thirty-six miles south-east of the former. The distances in the text, and also the relative positions of Allahabad, Oudh, Jounpur, and Benares, are obviously inaccurate.

† Benares. The road to this place from Akbarpur now passes through Jounpur.

‡ Jounpur on the banks of the Goomtee. The "noble bridge" (which was nearly new when this was written by De Laët) has stood all the floods and dangers of three centuries, and still remains comparatively unimpaired. It is said to have been commenced in the year 1564, and to have been completed in three years. by Fahim, a freedman of Munim Khan, an officer high in the confi-

dence of Akbar.

§ This fort was built by Firoz Shah Toghluk in the year 1370. During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim of Jounpur (*circ.* 1409) the court of Jounpur far outshone that of Delhi, and was the resort of all the learned men of the east.

|| The route here given lies mainly through the territories of Jeypore.

¶ See p. 71.

** Near Biana.

†† See note, p. 73.

‡‡ Raja Man Singh was the nephew and adopted son of Raja Bhagavan Das of Amber. The road from Agra to Ajmir now passes through the modern town of Jeypur; the *Charroit* mentioned in the text was probably near this site.

§§ Now called Judanah, between

Asmeere is an impregnable fortress, placed on the top of a mountain which is very precipitous, and has a difficult ascent of three coss. But the town itself, which is only of moderate size, is situated at the foot of the mountain, and is surrounded by a stone wall and a wide ditch. Its houses are built of mud. Outside the walls many objects of antiquity are to be observed. The town is chiefly celebrated on account of the tomb of Hoghe Mondee,* a saint singularly venerated by the Moguls. The approach to the tomb is through three very large courts. The first of these is almost an acre in extent, paved with white and black marble. Here are several monuments of Musalman saints; and on the left is a very beautiful lake surrounded by a wall. The second court is paved like the first, but with more exquisite workmanship; in the midst hangs a chandelier with many lights. The entrance to the third court is through a brazen door exquisitely wrought. It is far more beautiful than the two that precede, especially in the part near the gate of the monument itself, the entrance of which is covered with pearl shells. The pavement about the tomb is covered with marble. The tomb itself is variegated with gold and pearl-shells, with an epitaph written in Persian. Not far off is the seat of the saint, from which, as from a tripod, he used to deliver oracular responses. On the eastern side there are three other courts, each with its tank; and on the north and south are beautiful houses in which the priests dwell. One may only enter these places with bare feet.

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of the king of Great Britain at the Mogul Court, says that near Asmeere is the town of Godah,† situated in a most fertile and pleasant plain. This town is well fortified, and has some very fine houses, yet it is fast becoming ruined. It was formerly the seat of a Rashboot prince, whom Achabar Sha reduced to subjection. The city was built at the foot of a somewhat steep rock. In traversing it, there may be seen even at the present day many monuments elegantly constructed out of the living rock, and many tanks surrounded by strong walls.

Sir Thomas Roe also tells us that Asmeere is twenty-five degrees and thirty minutes north of the equator; that it is distant from Agra two hundred English miles, or ten days' journey towards the south; and that it is four hundred and fifty miles north of Baram-pore.

Jeypur and Ajmir.

* Khájah Mu'inuddin mentioned above, p. 72.

† This seems to refer to Kotah, the

capital of the Rajput State of the same name. Rao Soorjun of Boondee and Kotah submitted to Akbar in 1569.

From Asmeere* the road goes to Cairo; to Mearta,† which has a very strong fort, some most beautiful tanks, and three temples, or pagodes, adorned with rich offerings. To Pipera,‡ Jongesgong, Seterange, Candempe, Jeloure,§ Mudra, Bilmall. The last was formerly a most extensive city, about twenty-four coss in circumference, now it is almost destroyed, but possesses, even at the present day, the ruins of walls. Last of all, to Amadavar.

ANOTHER ROUTE FROM AGRA TO ASMEERE.—From Agra to Fettiapore, twelve coss; to Bramobad, twelve coss; to Hendowne, twelve; to Mogulseray,|| fourteen; to Lascotte, twelve; to the town of Chadsoole,¶ thirteen; to Pipela, seven; to Mosobade, thirteen; to Bandersandre, a little village, ten coss; to Mandil, twelve coss; to Asmeere, two coss.

THE ROUTE FROM AMADAVAR TO LOURE-BANDER, THE FAMOUS PORT OF TUTTA.—The commencement of the road** from Amadavar to Tutta, or Tatta, the great emporium of Sinde, is as follows: To Cassumparo; to Callitalowny, a beautiful fortress; to Calwalla, a pleasant village, seven coss. This village King Achabar settled on certain girls and their posterity, on condition that they instructed their boys in the art of dancing. To Carrya,†† a fortified citadel with a strong guard, eight coss; to Deccanaura; to Bollodo, ten coss. This is a fortress held by the Mogul Governor Newlock Abram Cabrate, who here rules over a tribe infamous for thievous propensities; the name of the tribe is *Coltes*.‡‡ To the fortress of Sariandgo, thirteen coss. To Radimpore,§§ a great town with its fortress. Hence, through an arid desert in which no water can be procured, sixty-seven coss to the village of Negar Parkar. In this desert are great numbers of wild asses, deer, foxes, and other wild animals.

* Here the route crosses the Aravali range.

† Meeta or Mearta, east of Jodhpur.

‡ Pipar is east of Jodhpur, between that city and Merta.

§ The town and fortress of Jallor were described in Part I.

|| The two routes given are apparently identical up to this point, where probably the former one turned to the north-west towards Amber or Jeypur.

¶ Probably Chatsu or Chaksu, in Jeypur, eighty miles east of Nussirabad.

** This route runs from Ahmadabad in a north-westerly direction through the Guicowar's dominions to Rhadunpur.

†† This is perhaps Kurree.

‡‡ All this part of the country has a large Kuli population.

§§ Rhadunpore, the capital of a petty State dependent on the Guicowar. It is on the Bunnass river; and is still an important station on the road from Ahmadabad to Hyderabad in Sind. At this point the road crosses the Runn of Cutch, which is stated by Hamilton to be only thirty-five miles in breadth here.

Between this place and Inne (which is only half a day's journey from Tutta), are barbarous tribes who acknowledge no master, but plunder travellers at their will, or guide them on the payment of tribute. When the king sends any troops against them, they burn their huts, which are built of straw, and retire to the fastnesses of the mountains.

From Parkar to Burdian,* twenty-four coss, through a country which is devoid of water, except that which is salt and unwholesome. Thence to Nuraquimire, (a little town) through a similar desert, fifty-seven coss. Thence to Gundiauw, ten coss; to Saruna,† a large town with a fortress, whose inhabitants are Rashpotes, ten coss; and finally to Tutta, fourteen coss.

Tutta is by far the largest emporium in India. Its principal port is Loure-bander,‡ which is three days' journey from the town. Here there is a commodious roadstead outside the mouth of the river Indus, freer from worms than any other harbour in India. Surate is very bad in this respect. From this place one can ascend the river to the capital, Lahore, in two months; the descent is accomplished in one month. Moreover, merchandise is brought on camels from the other capital, Agra, to Buckar on the banks of the Indus, and thence to the ships in fifteen or sixteen days. This route would be a much more expeditious one than that from Agra to Surate, if it were not so exposed to robbers.

The mouth of that most noble river, the Indus, is twenty-four degrees and thirty-eight minutes north of the equator, according to my English authorities. Thence to the town of Diul§ (not *Dive*, be it observed) fifteen miles. Here the governor of this province of Sindé resides in a strongly fortified castle.

* Budeyan and Bunder Lawrey are mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as the limits on the east and west, respectively, of the Sircar of Tatta, at that time a division of the Soubah of Multan. Inne appears to be Jun, east of Tatta.

† Seerannee, south-east of Tatta.

‡ Lahori-Bander was visited by Alexander Hamilton in 1699, when it was the most important port in Sind, easily accessible for ships of two hundred tons burthen. At the close of the last century it was the seat of an English factory; but it has fallen into decay in consequence of a bar which has formed at the mouth of the river which has destroyed the roadstead.

§ Maurice states that Tatta is

the Daibul of the Persian tables of Sir William Jones. The statement is made by Ferishta, who was probably followed by Maurice; but Elphinstone shows (Book v., cap. 1.) that Tatta cannot be Dival or Dewal (celebrated for the siege by the Arabs under Muhammad Qasim in 711) and suggests some port near Karachi. The port mentioned in the text appears to be the true Dival; it may, perhaps, be identified with Dabhu, at one of the mouths of the Indus, south-east of Karachi, which corresponds with the position given in the text. The point has been discussed also by Rennell, Burton, and many other writers, but with no satisfactory result.

THE ROUTE FROM LAHORE TO KANDAHAR. The road* from the capital Lahore to Kandahar is as follows: To Chacksunder, a small town, eleven coss; to Non Saray, fifteen coss; to Muttetay, eight coss; to Quemal-Chan, nineteen; to Herpack, sixteen; to Alicasava, twelve; to Trumba, twelve; to Sedoushall, fourteen; to Callixeckebande, fifteen; to Multhan, twelve. This is a large and ancient city, not more than three coss from the bank of the river Indus. Crossing the river at this point, the distance to Petto-Alle, a little village, is twenty coss. Here another river must be crossed in boats; and a little further on, a third river, smaller than the other two, which is called Lacca. From this point the road is over rugged mountains, and through a dry and desolate region infested by robbers, to Chatza, a little fort surrounded by an earthwork. Here the Mogul keeps a guard to protect the country against the robbers; there is, however, not much difference between the guards and the robbers. In the intervening road, nothing whatever can be obtained, except a little grass for the cattle in a few places. The inhabitants of the mountains of which we have spoken are called Agwanes,† infamous on account of their predatory habits.

From Chatza to Duckee,‡ a town inhabited by these barbarians, where the Mogul has a fortress and a stationary garrison, seventy-two coss. Throughout this part of the road the barbarians sell all kinds of provisions to travellers at a very cheap rate. To Secota,§ three villages which form a triangle at the base of the mountains, fourteen coss. Hence, to the Passes of the mountains, (called by the inhabitants Durues,||) where a small number of men can resist and hold in check a large army, about twenty-four coss. To Pesinga, a fort not unlike that at Duckee, twenty-three coss. Hence to Candahar, sixty coss, through vast mountains and by a road on which no food or provender can be obtained. In the mountainous regions of this kingdom of Kandahar there are ferocious tribes called Agwanes and Petanes.¶ They are very powerful in body, and of a somewhat lighter colour than the inhabitants of India, but infamous on account of their predatory habits and their signal cruelty. It is said that they have behaved somewhat more gently to travellers of late years, both on the account of their reverence for the Mogul, and because of the gain to be derived from commerce; ; still it not unfrequently happens that

* This route proceeds down the valley of the Ravee to Multan, then crosses the Ravee and the Indus successively, passing due west over the Soleiman Mountains to Duckee, Quetta, and Kandahar.

† Agwán and Avgan, the same as

Afghan.

‡ Dukkee, or Ruh, a town in Seistan.

§ This is perhaps Quetta, between Kalat and Kandahar.

|| Probably *darwaza*, or *Dooars*.

¶ Pathans.

when they meet with a few strangers unprepared to resist them, they carry them off to the fastnesses of the mountains and reduce them to slavery—mutilating them to prevent any chance of escape.

Kandahar is an ancient town said to have been inhabited formerly by Baneanes. At present the governor of the province resides here with twelve or fifteen thousand cavalry, who are maintained by the Mogul Emperor on account of the vicinity of the Persians on the north. The city has on the west a precipitous and rugged mountain, and is surrounded on the south and east by a strong wall. On account of the greatness of the traffic, and for the sake of convenience, the suburbs are almost larger than the town itself. The supply of provisions of all kinds is here most abundant, but the price is very high, because of the great number of strangers, and more especially from the fact that the whole country between this city and Hispaan, the Capital of Persia, is very unfruitful. In many places, indeed, on that road, hardly any herbage is to be found; and there is, moreover, the greatest lack of water, except some that is salt and unwholesome.

My English authorities tell me that this city is thirty-four degrees north of the equator, and ninety-eight degrees from the first meridian.

From Kandahar to the village of Seriabe,* ten coss; to Deribage, † a little village, twelve; to Cushecuna, ‡ eight. This last fortress marks the boundary between the dominions of the Mogul and the Persian.

THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.—This kingdom, which the Moguls some years ago subdued and added to their empire, is most extensive, being one hundred and twenty leagues in length along the sea-shore, and of equal breadth inland. It is watered by the Chaberis,§ which some call the Guenga, and which most believe to be the Ganges of the ancients. This river comes down from the north-west, as I am told by my English authorities, and receives very many tributaries on both sides and especially from the north.

The province abounds in rice, in every kind of corn, in sugar, ginger, oblong pepper, cotton, silk; and rejoices in a very salubrious climate.

* The route here given is still the great road into Persia from Kandahar. Seriabe is now Shorab, or Sarab, west of the Helmund.

† Probably Doroha.

‡ Doubtless Kokshan near Furrah; it is near the Persian frontier on

the Kandahar road.

§ The name Camberis is given above (page 67) to the Chumbul. Some travellers, descending the Ganges from the Chumbul, would naturally call the river by the same name throughout.

The capital of the province is called Gouro,* next to which is Bengala.† Both are very famous and rich cities; from the latter, or from the kingdom itself, the Bay, which was formerly called Sinus Gangeticus, is now called Golfo de Bengala. Amongst other towns of the province may be noted Chatigan.‡ Tanda§ also is a famous emporium, distant about one mile from the bank of the Ganges.

Banaras is a vast city on the banks of the same river. Patanaw is a celebrated town, having wide streets, but its houses are small and built of turf. It was formerly the capital of an extensive and noble kingdom, which now, however, like the rest, is in subjection to the Mogul.

Orixa also belongs to this province. It was itself formerly a kingdom, but was conquered, first by the Potanensians, and recently by the Moguls.

The inhabitants of this kingdom are of a subtle, but depraved character; inasmuch as the men are infamous for their deceitful-

* This is of course the well-known city of Gaur, or Lakhnauti, called by Humayun Jennatabad, and supposed by some (see Rennell, p. 55,) to be the Gangia Regia of Ptolemy. It stood on the left bank of the Ganges, about twenty-five miles below Rajmahal.

† Rennell says:—"In some ancient maps and books of travels we meet with a city named Bengalla, but no traces of such a place now exist. It is described as being near the eastern mouth of the Ganges, and I conceive that the site of it has been carried away by the river, as in my remembrance a vast tract of land has disappeared thereabouts. Bengalla appears to have been in existence during the early part of the last century." In Foulke Grevil's report of 1600, (quoted in the note, p. 87), he speaks of the "Portugals trading at Bengalen."

‡ Rennell says "Satgong or Sata-gong, now an inconsiderable village on a small creek of the Hoogly river about four miles to the north-west of Hoogly, was in 1566, and probably later, a large trading city in which the European traders had their factories in Bengal. At that time Satgong river was capable of bearing small vessels; and I suspect that its then course, after passing Satgong,

was by way of Adampour, Omptoh, and Tamlook." See below, p. 101; and also the note, first part, *Calcutta Review*, No. CII, p. 347.

§ Tanda or Tanra (called also Khuaspore Tanda, from the old name of its district, to distinguish it from the Tanda in Oudh) was for a short time, in the days of Shir Shah, the capital of Bengal; and became the recognised capital in the time of Akbar about 1580. Rennell says "it is situated very near the site of Gour, on the road thence to Rajmahal. Very little is remaining of the place save the ramparts. Nor do we know for certain when it was deserted. In 1659, it was the capital of Bengal, when that Soubah was reduced under Aurangzib; and Rajmahal, Dacca, and Murshedabad, appear to have successively become the capital after Tanda." Stewart (*History of Bengal*, p. 95) says that Tanda is not so near to Gaur as it is represented to be by Major Rennell:—"Tondah is certainly separated from Gour by the Bagamutty river, which Mr. Wilford supposes was the old bed of the Ganges." Stewart cites, in support of his assertion, the *Asiatic Researches*, 8vo. edition, vol. V. pp. 257, 272, 277.

ness and their thievish propensities ; the women for their immodesty and wantonness. They are chiefly of the Mahometan religion.

THE KINGDOM OF GOLCONDA.—Musilipatnam,* the principal port of the kingdom of Golconda, is situated on the Gangetic bay, sixteen degrees and thirty minutes north of the equator. It is a small town, but contains many inhabitants. It is not surrounded by walls, and is neither beautiful in its buildings nor convenient in its situation ; all its springs are salt, and yet its commercial advantages have changed what was formerly merely a nest of fishermen, into a great emporium.

The climate here is healthy. They divide the year into three seasons—of these the first, which includes March, April, May and June, they call summer ; for in these months the heat is so great as to be almost intolerable, the wind itself blowing from the west like fire. In July, August, September and October, the rain is incessant ; and sometimes storms come on with such fury that buildings are torn from their foundations. To these rains, however, and to the inundations which follow, the soil is indebted for its fertility. In the remaining four months the heat is tolerable. The soil is so fertile that it produces in many places two, and in some even three, crops of rice in the year. They have also wheat, and some other sorts of corn unknown to Europeans.

This kingdom gets its name from its capital and the residence of the King, Golconda†—called by the Mahometans and Persians, Hidraband. It is distant from Musilipatnam twenty-eight leagues (each league being equal to nine English miles) or ten days' journey. The city, both in the pleasantness of its climate and in the fertility of its soil, is inferior to none in all the East. The King's palace is of great extent, being twelve English miles in circumference. It is surrounded on all sides by walls. All the houses are built of stone, the principal ones being also richly adorned with gilding. What more need I say ?—the splendour and riches of the King are immense. For in number of elephants and in abundance of jewels and precious things he even vies with the Mogul Emperor ; though he is not equal to the latter in point of extent of territory. This Prince is of the Mahometan religion ; he derives his ancestry from the Persians, and belongs to their sect. His Gentile name is Cotub Sha, which has been handed down from his predecessors. He is not subject to the Mogul ; but in a friendly way acknowledges the majesty of the latter by yearly gifts. His annual revenues are said to be twenty lakhs or millions of pagodes ; the pagode in weight and value is equal to the French crown. He is the sole lord of the soil ; his subjects rent it from him at a great price.

* See note, p. 87.

† See note, p. 88.

On the frontiers and in the interior of this kingdom there are altogether sixty-six fortresses. Each of these has its governor (these officers are called Naykes) and its garrison of soldiers. They are for the most part built on lofty rocks, accessible by only one narrow path. No one is permitted to enter any castle without the express orders of the prince. These rocks are called Conda.

One of these fortresses, which is called Condapoly,* close to the town of the same name, is of vast extent. It contains six castles; each is more lofty than the preceding one; each contains its own tanks, and groves of forest-trees and fruit-trees, and fields of rice. It has a garrison of twelve thousand men.

Between this fortress and another, which is called Condavera,† a distance of twenty-five English miles, there are watch-towers at certain intervals, through which, by means of lighted torches, news can be rapidly conveyed from one fortress to the other.

In this kingdom a few years ago some very rich diamond mines were accidentally discovered at the foot of a lofty mountain‡ not far from the river Christena, in a very sterile and rugged district, about a hundred and eight English miles from Musilipatnam. The king has been accustomed to lease the mines at an annual rent of three hundred thousand pagodes, with the following condition added: that all diamonds found above the weight of ten carats should be brought into his treasury. But in the year 1622 the mining was stopped by the king. Some say that the cause of this interdict was the fear that the value of the stones would be diminished by such rapid production: others say that it was owing to the demand of the Mogul Emperor who, by his ambassador, had ordered the king of Golconda to send him as tribute three pounds (they call it vyse) of the finest diamonds; but I believe it to be most likely that the mines had already been exhausted by the avarice of the miners. William Methold, an Englishman, tells us that he visited these mines. At that time (as he heard from those who knew the particulars) there were thirty thousand labourers hard at work. Some of these were excavating the soil; others were carrying it away in baskets; others were drawing off the water by a tedious and laborious method (for these barbarians are not acquainted with any machinery), lifting it in vessels from hand

* Condapilly, a fortress in the district of Masulipatam. It was formerly noted for its strength; but of late years, according to Hamilton, "has been suffered to crumble into ruin." It is in latitude $16^{\circ} 38'$; longitude, $80^{\circ} 37'$.

† Rennell says of this' fortress: "The fort of Condavir is the principal fort in the Guntoor circar; and is

strongly situated on a mountain eight coss to the west of Guntoor, according to Capt. Davis; and ten from the south bank of the Kistna."

‡ The Neel Mulla mountains. Rennell says, "Colour [Colloor or Barkalor] is a diamond mine on the southern bank of the Kistna, and not far from Condavir."

to hand. They, however, sink shafts into the bowels of the earth to the depth of about ten or twelve fathoms; and they spread the soil which is brought up on a floor smoothed for the purpose, to the thickness of four or five thumbs. This soil is generally of a reddish colour, streaked with veins of yellow and white chalk and lime. When it is hardened and dried by the sun, they break it with stones and pick out and fling away the flints. They then sift the dust that remains; and in this operation they discover the gems, sometimes in greater, sometimes in less numbers. Not unfrequently they find none, and thus lose their labour and time. Other gems are also found in this kingdom, but less valuable ones which are not worth the trouble of describing.

The other productions of this realm are—iron and steel (for neither gold, nor silver, nor copper are found here); Bezoar stones; cotton cloths of all kinds, especially those that are elegantly dyed and painted, in which art the Indians excel (they use chiefly for this purpose a plant which they call Chay, from which they obtain the most perfect and lasting red dye); annil, &c.

Large ships are built here of the finest timber (sometimes of the capacity of six hundred tons and upwards), but they are not so commodious nor so useful for warlike purposes as those built in Europe. In these they trade to Moha in the Red Sea, going thither in the month of January and returning in September or October. They sail to Achin, Areccan, Pegu, and Tanassar in the month of September, and return in April.

THE ROUTE FROM AGRA TO CHATIGAN, A PORT OF BENGAL.—From Agra one descends the river Jemena to Prague (so the Englishman Ralph Fitch calls it; we said above that Halabasse was formerly called Praye; the site agrees, and the name is not very different). Here the Jemina falls into the Ganges, and takes the name of the latter river. From Prague, descending the Ganges, which here begins to be very broad, one reaches Bannaras. This is a very large town, whose inhabitants are almost all Gentiles, and wholly given to idolatry. From Bannaras to Patenaw, in the intervening journey, many towns are observed, and very numerous tributaries of the river.

Patenaw is a great town of considerable length; it is said that there are many gold mines in the district. The houses are small, built for the most part of mud and thatched with straw, but the streets are very broad. From Patenaw to Tanda, in Gour, a province of the kingdom of Bengal. Tanda* is one league distant from the bank of the Ganges, because the river at this place often overflows and inundates the surrounding country.

* See note above, p. 97.

At length we reach Chatigan, which is a beautiful town. It is distant one league from Ugeli* (or, as the Portuguese call it, Porto Piqueno), and is twenty-three degrees north of the equator.

Not far from this port to the south is another port called Angeli,† in the province of Orixá. The metropolis of the province, also called Orixá, is six days' journey from Chatigan.

THE PROVINCE OF MULTHAN OR MOLTAN.—Multhan is a very extensive province, and singularly fertile. It is also admirably adapted for commerce on account of the three rivers by which it is watered, and which unite not far from the capital.

The capital is called Multhan, or Moltan, which is distant from the royal city of Lahore one hundred and twenty coss. Through it passes the road by which the merchants travel from Persia through Kandahar to the various provinces of India. The three rivers are the Ravee, the Bahat or Behat, and the Sind or Indus; their course through this province is rapid. The chief productions are—sugar, of which large quantities are carried in ships down the Indus to Tatta, and also up the river to Lahore; also galls, opium, sulphur, and large quantities of linen and cotton cloths. The inhabitants are also very celebrated for the manufacture of bows.

E. LETHBRIDGE.

* This is of course Hoogly (Hugli), and the situation here given of Chatigan proves it to be identical with Satgong. See note, page 87. In a note to Stewart's *History of Bengal* is the following: "It is a circumstance worthy of remark that the name of Hoogly is never mentioned in Faria de Souza's History of the Portuguese. (the English translation of which was published in 1695); although he acknowledges that they lost a large town in Bengal in the year 1633, but which he calls *Golin*." The *Ugeli* and *Ougolee* of the text (above and at p. 87) furnish the link which connects Hoogly with Golin. But the word *Hugli* is used by native historians of the 16th century.

† This is obviously Ingellee, or Hidgelee, at the mouth of the Hoogly, opposite Saugor. It is interesting to compare the account given in the text with that given by the English some seventy or eighty years later, when Job Charnock and the English residents at Chuttanuttty (Calcutta) were compelled to take refuge here by Nawab Shaista Khan. Stewart says of it—"Injeelee is an island in the mouth of the river Ganges, but separated from the western bank only by a narrow stream; the greater part of it is covered with long grass, the habitation of tigers; nor does it produce a drop of good water. In this spot, perhaps the unhealthiest of the whole province, Mr. Charnock pitched his camp."

ART V.—BRAHMISM—ITS HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

1. *Selections from several books of the Vaidanta, translated from the Original Sanscrita.* By Rajah Rammohun Roy. Calcutta: Printed for the Tuttobodheney Sobha, at the Tuttobodheney Press. 1844.
2. *A Brief Survey of the Calcutta "Brahma Samaj," from January 1830, the date of its foundation, to December 1867.* Calcutta: Printed by G. P. Roy & Co., 67, Emambaree Lane, Bentinck Street. 1868.
3. *A defence of Brahmoism and the Brahmo Samaj:* being a Lecture delivered at the Midnapore Samaj Hall, on the 21st June 1863. Midnapore. 1863.
4. *A compilation of Theistic Texts from the Hindu, Jewish, Christian, Mahomedan and Parsee Scriptures.* Calcutta: Printed at the Kébya Prakásh and Oriental Press. Sakábdá. 1788.
5. *Atonement and Salvation,—Revelation,—Testimonies to the validity of Intuitions.* Parts I & II. Printed at the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj Press.
6. *The Religious Prospects of India:* a Discourse read before the Society of Theistic Friends, in March, 1864, Calcutta: Printed at the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj Press. Jorasanko, 1864.
7. *Jesus Christ—Europe and Asia:* being the substance of a Lecture delivered extempore in the Theatre of the Calcutta Medical College, on Saturday 5th May, 1866. Calcutta: J. N. Ghose & Co., Oriental Press. 1866.
8. *Great Men:* being the substance of a Lecture delivered extempore at the Town Hall, on the 28th September 1866.
9. *The Indian Mirror.*
10. *The Dhurma Tattwa.* Published at the Indian Mirror Press. Calcutta.

THE recent visit to England of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, the recognized apostle of Bramhism, has brought this latest development of religious thought in India prominently under the notice of the English public; and as much interest has been awakened and expressed in regard to it, we propose to devote a few pages to a consideration of its history and literature. The influences and processes of mind that have resulted in the Bramha creed, are sufficiently indicated in the numerous publications, both in English and the vernacular, that serve as landmarks in its history, and no just estimate can be formed of either its present

attitude or its future, without a knowledge of the circumstances that gave it birth and of the modifications it has undergone.

Neander regards the faith of Islam as a 'development' of Christianity. This is a phrase apt to be misapplied, and therefore to be misunderstood. Regarded as a protest against the idolatrous practices that were paralysing the true life of the Christian churches of the East, Islamism may be said to have been the revival of that spiritual worship of the one God which lies at the root of the Christian religion, and which was threatened to be overlaid by the growing superstitions of the age. Though the spirit of Islamism, as this faith acquired political ascendancy, drifted further and further from the genius of the gospel, until the crescent became the avowed enemy of the cross, yet the germinal idea of Muhammadanism was undoubtedly derived from the Christian Scriptures. In like manner, Brahism may, in some sort, be regarded as a development of Christianity. Christianity suggested it to the Hindu mind just awaking from the dream of ages, and but for the presence of Christianity in India, it would not have been. We are aware that this is a statement which would by no means find ready acceptance among the Brahmists ; for with them the religion of intuition has always been independent of all historical creeds. But inasmuch as the movement, notwithstanding its professed character, has a history, we shall do well to consider it in the light of facts.

Brahmism owes its origin to Raja Rammohun Roy. Born in the district of Moorshedabad in 1772, it was not till he was over forty years of age that he attempted a religious reform among his countrymen. He came to reside in Calcutta in 1814, and very soon after sought to interest his friends in the subject that occupied his own mind. Of great natural ability, he also possessed a thorough scholarly acquaintance with the Sanskrit and Arabic languages. He had given much time to the perusal of the Sastras, or religious books of the Hindus, and of the Quran, and had accompanied the study of these books with the reading of the English Bible. Gifted with rare honesty of mind, his enquiries led him far in advance of his countrymen, who soon discovered that his faith in traditional Hinduism had dwindled to nothing. It was a far more serious matter then than it is now, to disregard superstitious ceremonials or break through the restrictions of caste. The hostility to Christianity may not have been keener or intenser than it is at the present day, but it was more ignorant, more apprehensive, and therefore apt to be more violent. Rammohun Roy would have been unable to keep his religious sentiments a secret, even supposing he had desired to do so ; and his secession from the grosser beliefs of his fathers and contemporaries, exposed him to persecution. Regarded as little better

than an infidel, he was on one occasion mobbed in the streets of Calcutta, and for some time his life was in danger. But this treatment did not deter him from his inquiries. That he might better understand all that was known among men respecting the worship of God, he gave himself to the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages, that he might, by a perusal of the Bible in its original tongues, enter more completely into the spirit of Hebrew and Christian devotion. As already hinted, he had by this time lost all faith in the prevalent idolatry, and rejecting the authority of the Puranas, he addressed himself to the Vedas, the oldest of the Hindu sacred books. He shared the common belief that the creed of his ancestors was monotheistic, and that the Puranas but represented the idolatrous degeneracy of later times. He was right as regards the Puranas, but mistaken as respects the Vedas. Having but just escaped from the grosser system of the former, his vision was not sufficiently clear to detect the pantheism with which the latter are saturated. He thought he saw pure deism in the Upanishads, or philosophical treatises that are attached to the Vedas ; and he circulated numerous translations from them among his countrymen. He also organized a society, not so much for the purpose of studying the Vedas, as of being brought under the influence of their supposed theistic teaching. Its 'proceedings,' we are told, consisted simply of the recitation of texts from the Vedas and the chaunting of theistic hymns.

The opposition of those who had it in their power to poison the native mind against this zealous reformer, caused the death of the society almost as soon as it was born, and no new organization was attempted till the year 1830, when the Raja founded a prayer-meeting which may be regarded as the nucleus of what is now the *Brahma Samáj*. His views had in the meanwhile somewhat expanded ; for whereas the first society, formed in 1816, does not seem to have contemplated bringing together any but Hindus willing to escape from the degradation of a polytheistic worship, the trust deed of the building erected for the purposes of the prayer-meeting provided for people of all sorts and conditions, without distinction as to creed or colour. This document is of interest as indicating the progress the Raja's own mind had made in the matter of a spiritual worship, and of freedom from those religious prejudices which often linger and have force long after the religious reasons that gave them birth have been cast aside. The building, which stands in Jorasanko on the Chitpore road, was to be "a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people, without distinction, as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner, for the worship and adoration of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable Being who is the

“ Author and Preserver of the Universe, but not under and by
“ any other name, designation or title, peculiarly used for and ap-
“ plied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men
“ whatsoever ; and that no graven image, statue or sculpture, carv-
“ ing, painting, picture, portrait, or the likeness of anything,
“ shall be admitted within the said messuage, building, land, tene-
“ ments, hereditament and premises, and that no sacrifice, offering
“ or oblation of any kind or thing shall ever be permitted therein ;
“ and that no animal or living creature shall, within or on the said
“ messuage, building, land, tenements, hereditament and premises,
“ be deprived of life either for religious purposes or food, and that
“ no eating or drinking (except such as shall be necessary by any
“ accident for the preservation of life) ; feasting or rioting, be permit-
“ ted therein or thereon ; and that in conducting the said worship
“ and adoration, no object, animate or inanimate, that has been, or
“ is, or shall hereafter become, or be recognized as, an object of wor-
“ ship by any man or set of men, shall be reviled or slightlying or
“ contemptuously spoken of or alluded to either in preaching or in
“ the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or
“ used in the said messuage or building ; and that no sermon,
“ preaching, discourse, prayer or hymns be delivered, made or
“ used in such worship, but such as have a tendency to the
“ contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe, or
“ to the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue,
“ and the strengthening of the bonds of union between men of
“ all religious persuasions and creeds ; and also that a person of
“ good repute and well-known for his knowledge, piety and mora-
“ lity, be employed by the said trustees or the survivor or survivors
“ of them, or the heirs of such survivor, or their or his assigns,
“ as a resident superintendent, and for the purpose of superin-
“ tending the worship so to be performed as is hereinbefore stated
“ and expressed, and that such worship be performed daily or at
“ least as often as once in seven days.”

A prayer-meeting which all who chose might attend ‘without distinction,’ was an important advance on the society attempted to be formed of the few thoughtful and earnest men who had acquired a distaste for Pauranic worship ; and this increased breadth of religious sentiment can be properly estimated only when we remember the ignorance and stubborn prejudices of those days as compared with the enlightenment and comparative social freedom of to-day. But Rammohun Roy had not yet shaken off a traditional preference for the Vedas. The prayer-meeting might be composed of men of all kinds without distinction of creed or colour, but the religious instruction to be communicated was still to come clothed with the authority of the Vedas. The only things read and expounded to the people on these occasions

were the Upanishads and other Vedantic authorities. The inference in the public mind naturally was, that Rammohun Roy's Deism, or Theism, if the Bramhists prefer the term, was held in subordination to the Vedas, and that in fact he was not so much a Theist as a Vedantist. It has been contended by the modern Bramhists that this inference was a false one ; but when we remember that an emancipation from religious bondage such as that which the mind of the Raja was at this time undergoing, must necessarily have been gradual, and accompanied by perplexing doubts and self-questionings such as would be unknown to those who occupied a higher moral platform or were accustomed to breathe in a purer social atmosphere, we are not only disposed to accept the inference respecting his special attachment to Vedantism, but to believe that it would have been strange if he had succeeded so early in breaking away from the authority of the Vedas. The Raja's inconsistency under the circumstances was very natural, and it does not seem necessary to excuse it on the ground that he simply desired to adapt the worship of the Samáj to the prejudices of the Hindus. That this consideration did influence him, however, may be freely admitted ; for we find that if on the one hand, "in the very infancy of the Samáj, Eurasian boys used to sing the Psalms of David in English, and Hindu musicians religious songs composed by Rammohun Roy and his friends in Bengali," on the other hand, he "was soon after obliged to give a more Hindu aspect to the Samáj for the propagation of the doctrine of the unity of God among his countrymen, and that to such a degree that the Vedas, which were now pronounced by him to be the chief guide of his followers in matters of religion, were read in an adjoining room accessible only to Brahmans, before public worship was held in the Samáj Hall." Possibly some national feeling was also mixed up with the reasons that induced him to give the Vedas the foremost place as the medium of religious instruction. As long as he believed them to teach pure theism, the preference was given to them, inasmuch as they formed a portion of the recognized Sastras of the people.

But whatever may have been the reasons that induced Rammohun Roy to give such prominence to the Vedas in a Samáj professedly catholic, certain it is that his action was in harmony with the feelings of the people whose good he specially sought. They accepted the theory of a catholic Samáj, but showed unwillingness to join in worship with foreigners, on the ground that it would identify them with Christians. The movement accordingly remained essentially Hindu. As the Raja's views expanded, however, he learnt to feel that he could not contend for an inspiration on behalf of the Vedas which he was not willing to allow to other religious books. The old Hindu theory of inspiration had broken

down. Whatever his fellow-worshippers in the Samáj might still think of it, with him the Munis, or ancient religious teachers of the Hindus, were no longer incarnations, and their knowledge was no longer of the superhuman kind obtainable only in a former birth. He felt his position among his countrymen to be a false one. He had entirely alienated from himself the sympathies of orthodox Hindudom; and the men who had so far triumphed over traditionalism as to join him in Vedantic worship, were not prepared to advance further. He could completely identify himself with neither Hindus nor Englishmen; and we have no doubt that it was this feeling of social isolation, as much as anything else, that prompted him to leave his native land and live in England. He took up his residence in Bristol, where he lived greatly esteemed till his death in 1835. The religious reform he inaugurated in Calcutta, threatened for some time after his departure, to die out and be forgotten. The Samáj continued to exist, the expenses being defrayed by Dwarkanath Tagore, and the religious services being conducted by Pundit Ramchunder Bidyabagesh; but nothing of the former interest was visible in its prosperity and in the growth of the new ideas that Rammohun Roy had sown in Hindu society. Nevertheless, though becoming less perceptible outwardly, that interest was by no means dying out. Rammohun Roy had departed and the influence of his personal presence was lost, but he was not forgotten. He had met with much opposition and had even been persecuted on account of his faith; and the few who gathered in sympathy round him were always fearful lest their sympathy should attract too much notice; yet he left not only a name, but the influence of a great and earnest spirit behind him. The Samáj did not prosper; but the seeds of a purer thought had quickened in the heart of Hindu society, and were already struggling to reach the light and the upper air. It was impossible that the singlehearted devotion, the strong honest mind, and the moral courage of such a man as the Raja, should fail to make a profound impression on his countrymen. The grateful reverence with which his memory is still guarded by them, illustrates the universal principle of life springing from death. The dead leaves of autumn furnish fresh stimulus to the soil that feeds the parent tree, and give life to the new foliage of the spring; and so the influence of men's lives and sentiments is not fully realized till their work is done, and that which was purely personal has been separated from that which is ever abiding. The work accomplished by the reformers of the world is not the work which they did during their lives or during the period of their presence in the community they sought to benefit, but the results which have flowed from the great and quickening thoughts they left to germinate in the soil of society. So it was

with Rammohun Roy. It was not till after he had left his native land, and had bidden what proved to be a final adieu to those whom he had laboured to benefit, that his opinions seemed to gain hold of the consciousness of the upper classes of Hindu society. There were many who sympathised in his views, but there were more who lacked the moral courage to accept them.

The Samáj dragged on a dubious existence till the year 1841, when an effort was made to inspire it with new life. With the spread of education and the general advancement of knowledge, traditional prejudices were loosening their grasp, and the thoughts that had been sown by Rammohun Roy ten or fifteen years before, began to spring up and bear fruit. The English language had in the meanwhile begun to be vigorously studied. It aided the cause of religious reform by demonstrating the absurdity of the Pauranic worship ; and the youthful Hindu mind, once more brought up to the level of Rammohun Roy's teaching, and supported this time by the powerful interposition of Western ideas, began to speculate with a boldness that would have been inconceivable twenty years before. The atheistic school which was one of the first fruits of this sudden intellectual emancipation, died early, having been crushed out in no small measure by the earnest efforts of Dr. Duff. The creed of Rammohun Roy once more asserted itself, and this time met with a bolder and more open sympathy. Babu Debendronath Tagore, who had previously organized a society called the 'Tattwabodhini Sabha,' the object of which was to promote independent religious inquiry, assumed the leadership of the Samáj. He relinquished his prospects in business in order that he might give his whole time to this work of love ; and throughout his subsequent career he has been noted for his disinterested and earnest devotion to the cause of Brahminism. His personal character has lent a moral support to the movement. He provided the Samáj with a printing-press, spent a considerable sum of money in fitting up their hall of worship, and in course of time collected a valuable library of the sacred books of the Hindus, besides providing or the support of poor but promising students, sent to Benares to prosecute their study.

The 'Tattwabodhini Sabha,' which had identified itself with Brahminism, set on foot a vernacular newspaper called the *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, the main design of which was to combat the ignorant prejudices of the people, and familiarize their minds with the advanced thought represented by the Samáj. This paper has worked a double good. In the first place, it helped to undermine polytheism ; and in the second place, coming into existence at a time when Bengali literature was just beginning to be recognized as a possible power in native society, it greatly contributed to the formation of the public taste and the construction of a style classical and

vigorous, on which most of the subsequent vernacular literature has been modelled. To Babu Ukhoy Coomar Dutt, the able editor of that journal, Bengali literature is indebted for much of its purity and elegance.

But confident as were these deists, or theists, of the Samáj of the Divine inspiration of the Vedas, a change was about to come over the spirit of their dream. Their belief hitherto had been, that in reviving the authority of the Vedas they were simply contending for the original and true form of Hindu worship. They had said, "We consider the Vedas, and the Vedas alone, to be the authorized rule of Hindu theology. They are the sole foundation of all our belief. Our humble object is merely to revive and propagate an existing system of truths. Vedantism is our creed, and the Upanishads are our book of religion." But now a perfect revolution of opinion was imminent. The more the Vedas were studied, the more evident it became that the religion taught in them was far from being the monotheism of the Samáj—that, indeed, it was hopelessly pantheistic, and that it would thenceforward be impossible to link the Samáj to the teaching of the Vedas. These books therefore forfeited the authority they had commanded. And it was right that they should.

It has been urged against the members of the Samáj, that their surrender of the Vedas is but a proof of the fickleness of their beliefs: and they, treating the remark as a reflection on their sincerity, go to the trouble of showing, or rather of trying to show, that the Samáj has never altered its creed; that Rammohun Roy never claimed for the Vedas any higher inspiration than what he was willing to allow to the Christian Scriptures or to any other book containing an exposition of great truths; and that the only authority they have ever acknowledged is that of reason and intuition. They have somehow overlooked the fact that the withdrawal of their faith from the Vedas as teaching an inspired theology, is, when rightly regarded, a proof, not of their fickleness, but of their earnest mind. We think it speaks unmistakeably for the sincerity of their religious convictions that they should have unhesitatingly abandoned the authority of writings, the real character of which was found to be utterly different from what they had supposed it to be. Their conduct was not only wise but honest; and we would assure them that the movement, instead of losing in the estimation of thoughtful men, gained credit when it became apparent that it was not indissolubly allied to Vedantic teaching, but based on an independent belief in one personal God. Perhaps Colebrooke's *Essays on the Vedas* had as much as anything to do with the weaning of the Samáj from Vedantic lore: certain it is that Vedantism died quietly out about the year 1850.

From this time the members of the Samáj, eschewing the epithet Vedantists, called themselves Brahmos or Brahmists.* This word, derived from the Hindu designation of the one Supreme Being, is equivalent to the term 'theist.' The Brahmists carefully avoid calling themselves deists, and so far they do wisely. This term, derived from the Latin *Deus*, has, it is true, precisely the same import as *theist*, which comes from the Greek *θεος*, but it has long been appropriated in our literature to those who have renounced the authority and teachings of the Christian Scriptures, and is associated with the idea of active antagonism to Christianity. Such is not the attitude of the Brahmists. The deists of England and the Continent profess to have weighed Christianity and to have rejected it after trial : the Brahmists, assuming to be only seekers after truth, have avoided an appellation, that would commit them to avowed hostility to any religious system excepting Pauranic idolatry. They stand committed therefore to no antagonisms, and can honestly claim to be only inquirers after the truth. Such, at all events, was, and is still the theory of their position : how far it has been modified by the presence of Christianity among them, is a question which will come to be considered in due course.

About the year 1843, and before the Samáj had emancipated itself from the bondage of the Vedas, its members adopted the following Brahmaic covenant, to which all who sought union with their Society were required to subscribe.

Om†

'To-day being the——day of the month—— in the year of Sakábda—— I herewith embrace the Brahmaic faith.

1st Vow.

'I will worship, through love of Him and the performance of the works He loveth, God the Creator, the Preserver, the Destroyer, the Giver of Salvation, the Omniscient, the Omnipresent, the Blissful, the Good, the Formless, the One only without a second.

2nd Vow.

'I will worship no created object as the Creator.

3rd Vow.

'Except the day of sickness or of tribulation, every day, the mind being undisturbed, I will engage it with love and veneration to God.

4th Vow.

'I will exert myself to perform righteous deeds.

5th Vow.

'I will be careful to abstain from vicious deeds.

* Or *Brahmoists*, as the word is more commonly perhaps, though not so correctly, spelt. The word is derived from *Brahm*, or *Brahma*, the Supreme Being ; not from *Brahmá*,

the first person in the Hindu triad.

† A sacred word used to signify the Sovereign, Creator, Preserver and Destroyer.

6th Vow.

‘If, through the influence of passion, I commit any vice, then, wishing redemption from it, I will be cautious not to do it again.’

7th Vow.

‘Every year, and on the occasion of every happy domestic event, I will bestow gifts upon the *Brahma Samaj*. Grant me, O God, power to observe the duties of this great faith.’

A community, brought together by a common monotheism and accepting a common covenant, could not be long without attempting some expansion of their creed. The doctrinal development of the *Brahma Samáj* was probably accelerated by the number of Branch Samájes that began to spring up between the years 1847 and 1858, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis and in some of the larger towns of the presidency. These branches, receiving frequent accessions from the ranks of the educated young men of the colleges and zillah schools, naturally looked to the parent Samáj to fix and define their creed. Many lectures had been delivered and published, and the Samáj under its new régime had received much oral teaching of one kind or another; but the desire for a creed carefully determined and expressed, now began to assert itself, and it became necessary to put forth some authoritative declaration of religious belief. The following synopsis taken from *A Brief Survey of the Calcutta Brahma Samaj* published in 1868, will give a good idea of the doctrinal position of the Brahmists ten years ago:—

I. The book of Nature and Intuition form the basis of the Brahmaic faith.

II. Although the Brahmas do not consider any book written by man the basis of their religion, yet they do accept with respect and pleasure any *truth* contained in any book.

III. The Brahmas believe that the religious condition of man is progressive, like the other parts of his condition in this world.

IV. They believe that the fundamental doctrines of their religion are at the basis of every religion followed by man.

V. They believe in the existence of one Supreme God—‘a God endowed with a distinct personality, moral attributes equal to his nature, and intelligence befitting the Governor of the Universe; and worship Him—Him alone. They do not believe in his incarnation.

VI. They believe in the immortality and progressive state of the soul, and declare that there is a state of conscious existence succeeding life in this world, and supplementary to it as respects the action of the universal moral government.

VII. They believe that atonement is the only way to salvation. They do not recognize any other mode of reconciliation to the offended but loving Father.

VIII. They pray for *spiritual* welfare, and believe in the *efficacy* of such prayers.

IX. They believe in the providential care of the Divine Father.

X. They avow that love towards him and performing the works He loveth, constituteth His worship.

XI. They recognize the necessity of public worship, but do not believe that they cannot hold communion with the Great Father without resorting to any fixed place at any fixed time. They maintain that we can adore Him at any time and at any place, provided that time and that place are calculated to compose and direct the mind towards Him.

XII. They do not believe in pilgrimages, but declare that holiness can only be attained by elevating and purifying the mind

XIII. They do not perform any rites and ceremonies, or believe in penances, as instrumental in obtaining the grace of God. They declare that moral righteousness, the gaining of wisdom, Divine contemplation, charity, and the cultivation of devotional feelings, are their rites and ceremonies. They further say, Govern and regulate your feelings, discharge your duties to God and to man, and you will gain everlasting blessedness; purify your heart, cultivate devotional feelings, and you will see Him who is Unseen.

XIV. Theoretically, there is no distinction of caste among the Brahmas. They declare that we are all the children of God, and, therefore, must consider ourselves as brothers and sisters.'

To believe in one personal God, and not only in the immortality of the soul but in its liability to moral discipline and its capacity for moral growth even after this life, and to seek to be brought into spiritual sympathy with the 'Divine Father,' represented an advance upon the surrounding polytheism which could only be accounted for in the supposition that the spirit of traditionalism had been rudely shaken by collision with some new and foreign force. It is one of the weaknesses of Brahmiism that it denies this. Professing to represent a single-minded and independent search after truth, it has been always unwilling to acknowledge its obligations to Christianity. The authority of the Vedas was clung to by the Brahmists as long as possible, in order that it might appear to the world and to themselves that they derived their knowledge of the one personal God from their own sacred books, and not from Christian teaching. And when the Vedas were wrenched out of their hands, and they were forced by their own convictions to resign this support, they fell back on the book of nature as God's revelation of Himself. For our part, we persist in thinking that were it not for the new life which at this time flowed in with the tide of Western thought, and the study of a literature saturated at every pore with Christian sentiment and the high morality of the gospel; were it not, also, for the strong and ceaseless opposition maintained by Christianity in the person of its missionaries and especially of Dr. Duff, against the atheism, which was the first, though a short-lived

result of the sudden intellectual quickening that the young men of Calcutta experienced when Western science was substituted for Oriental myths, neither would the study of the Vedas have been revived, nor would the great lessons of nature have appeared so intelligible as they then became. The Brahmists are guilty, in this matter, of a want of candour, which ill accords with the honest convictions which, to Christian minds, have lent such interest to this new religious movement.

But, be this as it may, it is interesting to observe the growth of spiritual thought, as illustrated in the history of Brahminism. Rammohun Roy, awakening to the conception of the One God, urged his convictions upon his countrymen at a time when few were prepared to abjure the national idolatry. He strove vigorously to propagate his views; but, beyond sowing the seeds of thought, he contributed nothing to the modern Brahma Samáj. The organization owes its vitality and expansion to Debendronath Tagore. Rammohun Roy's failure to keep alive and diffuse an active sympathy in his own monotheistic belief, and to nurse into strength and permanence the society he established, was owing, in the first place, to the very meagre and crude creed he had to offer, and in the second place, to the want of sufficient sympathy between himself and those whom he sought to influence. The mere belief in one God, in opposition to a prevailing polytheistic worship, is very apt to rest with the intellect, and to leave the affections untouched. It is, under such circumstances, a theory which places the individual who holds it, on a higher platform of reasoning than his ignorant brethren; it makes a comfortable esoteric doctrine for those who are tempted to assume superiority over their fellows; but it is not by itself a dogma on account of which men are disposed to brave persecution and social exile. It becomes a moral force only when the moral nature has been laid bare to the logical issues of the belief. Rammohun Roy failed to unfold and enforce the moral bearings of the new thought he sought to propagate. It was regarded by him from a purely objective point of view; exclusive stress was laid upon the being and attributes of the One Supreme Ruler of the Universe: no attempt was made to convert the monotheistic belief into a subjective power, by making it press on the individual conscience, or quicken the hearts of men. It was a creed outside men, not a living belief within them. And Rammohun Roy lacked the sympathy with his countrymen which was necessary to apply his creed so as to make it subservient to the higher end. Their ungrateful treatment disgusted him, and in quitting his native shores, he abandoned his own movement to whatever inherent vitality there might or might not be found in it.

Debendronath Tagore is a man of a very different stamp. Though he has nothing of the erudition of the Raja, he has larger sympathies. Where, therefore, the former only excited opposition, or at best awakened but a feeble response in the breasts of his countrymen, Debendronath Tagore has organized and strengthened the Samáj, both numerically and morally ; and it is to him that Brahmissm owes much of its present influence and respectability. For a quarter of a century he has laboured in this cause, at great sacrifice of time and money ; and though he does not draw public attention to himself, and his very name is unknown to many who have heard of the Brahma Samáj, the obligations that the Samáj owes to him are gratefully acknowledged by all who are identified with the movement. If in the eyes of the European public he has not occupied the prominent position taken up by Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, it is not because his zeal as a *religious* reformer has been less, but because he has shrunk from the path of *social* reformation. For many years the Samáj having its attention absorbed in religious inquiries and in constructing a creed, had none to give to the grave social questions, which, in the complex state of Hindu society, must be grappled with, the moment there is the slightest deviation from old established religious usages, or the introduction into the religious beliefs of the people of the smallest foreign element. The interests of religion and society are so intertwined with one another that separation is impossible. To overthrow the religious beliefs of the people is to efface the landmarks of ages and revolutionize their entire social economy.

It was impossible to accept the Brahma creed, or indeed any creed other than that which had become an integral part of the social constitution, without the conviction that the foundations of society must more or less be affected by the change. It is the social difficulty rather than the religious, which has made the progress of Christianity so slow in India. It is a common complaint among missionaries, that though the people profess pleasure when the Gospel is preached to them, and not unfrequently admit that its doctrines recommend themselves to their highest reason and to their holiest sympathies, yet they cannot somehow be brought to see the necessity of casting off the bondage of their idolatries and of boldly accepting the yoke of Christ. The fact is, that the chains which bind the Hindu to his idolatrous traditions, are not of a religious but of a social kind. The missionary marvels that he can confess that his gods are nothing and yet continue to worship them ; and the conclusion too often come to is, that he has no conscience and is incapable of a spiritual thought. This is neither philosophical nor just. The Hindu may feel the force of Christian teaching, and yet be so fettered by the social system

in which he and his forefathers have had their being, as to find it impossible to face the sacrifice involved in disengaging himself from it. It is to be regretted, no doubt, that he lacks the moral courage necessary to obey his convictions, and no reasoning in the world will justify a compromise with one's conscience. But what we deprecate, is the unmeasured condemnation of the Hindu character too often to be met with in missionary literature, the failure to appreciate the real difficulties that perplex the path of even earnest men, and the shortsighted impatience with which results are expected which are of rare occurrence even among those who are free from the social restraints so exceptionally severe in this country. How seldom, in English or other Christian society, do we find men willing to follow out religious convictions and transfer their allegiance from one Church or sect to another, when such action threatens the disruption of old social ties or injury to business? And why should we apply the moral measure more rigorously to the Hindu, whose spiritual vision has been dimmed by the superstitions of ages and whose newly quickened conscience must necessarily be feeble in its first pulsations, than to men belonging to a condition of society in which the sovereignty of Christian principle is so loudly vaunted?

But we must not digress. We have said that the acceptance of the theistic creed must have brought the Brahmists face to face with grave social questions. They were in existence as a Samáj for ten years and more, before these questions began to be touched. For not having grappled with them at the very outset, they have been charged with insincerity and a conservatism which was both cowardly and criminal. We are not seeking to vindicate the Samáj: our only desire is to read their conduct from their own standing-ground. We think it may be safely asserted that social reforms did not enter into the original scheme of the Samáj. It was a religious movement pure and simple, caused by the re-quickenings of a religious idea; and the first members probably believed that they could keep it within its original bounds. Why not? Hinduism abounds with religious sects, and yet the general fabric remains unaffected. Why should not Brahminism be propagated, and thrive unmolested and unmolested in the bosom of Hindu society? It would probably for many years remain but esoteric doctrine, and might be held simultaneously with the outward observance of Pauranic rites. Thus, we dare say, argued many who joined the Samáj; and thus far Brahminism, or, as it was then called, Vedantism, was a mere religious opinion. But when Debendronath Tagore threw his earnest soul into the movement, he helped to make it more than an opinion; it became thenceforward a creed. The conception of one God, not in the pantheistic sense, but as having a distinct personality, awakened the

long slumbering consciousness of individual relations. The Samáj would have died if the god of the Vedas had been retained ; it received new life with the recognition of a personal God. The creed grew into a conviction, and with the conviction came a stirring up of the religious nature. The spiritual in man began to be cultivated with a view to communion with the Divine Being ; new wants began to disclose themselves ; and in proportion as honest conviction deepened, the feeling that Brahmissm and Pauranic orthodoxy could not be held together, began to assert itself. The One God had made all nations of one blood, and this doctrine struck at the very root of Hindu society. This was the point at which the religious belief of the Brahmists came into contact with the social economy in which they had been reared. This was the moment when as honest men they must commit themselves to the task of social reform. Now must come the trial of principle, the action without which our creeds are only sounding brass.

Whether the Brahmists consciously realized the crisis or not, we cannot tell ; certainly they did feel that the time had come when their creed, to live, must be something more than intellectual speculation.

Up to this point Babu Debendronath Tagore had been the leader of Brahmissm ; but here he unhappily halted. One or two cautious steps in advance he did take ; but when he found that the ground he had reached was a battle-field and not a resting-place, his prudence overcame his better judgment and he declined the conflict. From this time the real leadership devolved on Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, a young man of good education, of an enthusiastic spirit, and of a strong religious nature. He counted it time that talk should lead to action ; and as the first challenge to orthodox Hinduism, he persuaded Debendronath Tagore, on the marriage of his daughter, to celebrate the nuptial rites without the usual idolatrous ceremony. Having succeeded in this, he undertook, so far as all Brahmists were concerned, to purge the rites observed at births and deaths, and on other special domestic occasions, of the idolatrous element. Thus far Debendronath accepted the co-operation of his youthful colleague ; but when an attempt was made on the part of the more advanced section of the Samáj, to eliminate from these rites not only what was purely idolatrous, but also everything that was offensive to enlightened feeling and a purer taste, the opposition of the conservative party became demonstrative, and a schism was the result. Debendronath and his party shrank from the contest with the mighty influences of caste, and left the field to be occupied by Keshub and the men who sympathized in his views of progress. The Brahma Samáj

of which the former still holds the leadership, has been steadily drifting out of sight: it is necessarily and deservedly being forgotten. Its desire to avoid doing violence to the prejudices of the multitude, resulted in the sacrifice of principle to expediency. In the hour of trial it became unfaithful to its mission, and since then it has been losing influence, and will probably before long die out altogether.

The time had arrived when Brahminism, if it was a power and not mere talk, must do battle with the system of caste distinctions. The first step in this direction taken by Keshub Chunder Sen, was the celebration of a marriage between persons belonging to different castes. Here was an innovation such as might well startle the venerable pundits of Nuddea and Benares. There could henceforward be no doubt as to the more than heretical tendency of the theistic doctrine. An electric shock ran through society: all Hindudom was roused from its slumber, and began suspiciously to ponder what Brahminism meant by such daring. But the real test of principle was yet to come. It was comparatively safe to make a few modifications in domestic religious rites: the marriage of people of different castes compromised the principals chiefly: it was necessary that the entire Brahma community should by some act be irrevocably committed to war against the evils and iniquities of caste. Keshub and his party accepted this necessity, threw off the sacred thread that distinguished them as Brahmans, and insisted that all who desired membership with their Samáj should consent to renounce caste. There could be no greater triumph than this, of principle over traditionalism: it stamped Brahminism as a power in the land, and not an idle theological speculation.

But, decided as was the step now taken, it did not cause as wide a breach between the advanced Brahma party and orthodox Hindudom, as might have been expected. These men, though they openly ignore the distinctions of caste are not exiled from home. They live among their relatives, and their refusal to connect themselves with any idolatries, either household or public, though accepted with a bad grace and a feeling of regret for the degeneracy of the times, is not visited with the ostracism that follows the embracing of the Christian faith. Why should this be? The Brahma renounces caste as truly and as practically as the Christian convert; but the latter has to sacrifice home and friends, whilst the former retains both. The reason for this difference strikes us as three-fold. In the first place, Christian missionaries seem to us to have all along, though perhaps not so much now as in former times, encouraged their converts to forsake home and kindred, and form isolated communities among themselves, rather than dissuaded them from doing so. Certainly it is not altogether their fault that they have done so. A course which was forced upon the earliest

converts by a necessity against which they were powerless to contend, became the common practice, and was apt to be looked upon as a test of sincerity rather than as an undesirable necessity. In the second place, Hindu society has always been influenced by a prejudice against the encroachments of Christianity, which somehow does not exist as respects Brahmissm. Why the prejudice in the one case should not be equally strong in the other, is an inquiry of some interest, but one on which we cannot here enter. Suffice it to say that the initiatory rite of baptism is looked upon by the Hindus as fixing an impassable gulf between themselves and those who have embraced Christianity. This gulf does not exist in the case of Brahmissm. Beyond the renunciation of idolatrous superstitions and the arbitrary restraints of caste, there is nothing to sever their interests from those of their relatives and friends. They have not cut themselves off from the sympathy of their own by any act which identifies them with a foreign race and a foreign creed ; and as any severe measure, such as that of social ostracism, might but drive them further away, it is deemed politic to wink at their heresy, and accept such a compromise as the circumstances will allow. And in the third place, the ranks of Brahmissm are so numerous, and are recruited from so many families of high birth, of respectability and influence and wealth, that to declare open war against it at a time when Hinduism is becoming sensibly weaker every day, and has no power to beat back the tide of influences setting in upon it and threatening its destruction, would be to invite the fate which, it is hoped, may yet be warded off for some time to come.

The decided step taken in the matter of caste, proving as it did that Brahmissm possessed vitality, at once placed Keshub Chunder Sen in the front of the battle. His party, known henceforward as 'the Brahma Samáj of India,' have striven to propagate their views by encouraging the formation of Samájies all over the country, and by sending forth missionaries as far as Madras and Bombay and the Punjab. Besides the publication of tracts and lectures, they have built a church, to use their own designation of the edifice, which is crowded to suffocation every Sunday evening, and is attended by not only men, but women who are Brahmas, and for whom special accommodation is provided. The services are conducted in the vernacular, so as to be intelligible to all worshippers. Brahmissm hymns are tastefully sung to the accompaniment of the harmonium and the solemn *mridong* (a kind of drum) ; passages are read from a book of selections of which the extracts from the Bible are most numerous, extemporaneous prayers are offered with a reverence and depth of spiritual feeling that would do credit to a Christian congregation ; and discourses are delivered which must have the effect of elevating and purifying the soul, for they are full

of the noblest aspirations and often of the most pathetic yearnings after the All-Father. Connected with the Samáj and indeed its organs more or less, are two weekly periodicals, one Bengali and the other English, the *Dharma Tattwa*, and the *Indian Mirror*. Both are conducted with great ability, and are devoted not only to the chronicling of all events of interest to Brahminism, but to the exposition of Brahma views and the advocacy of all measures calculated to promote the enlightenment and spiritual emancipation of the people.

The literature of Brahminism, though not voluminous, is considerable. Besides the *Brahma Dharma*, or exposition of Brahminism, the Brahma hymn-book and other devotional books, we have Keshub Chunder Sen's occasional lectures in English, controversial tracts, and small treatises on what may be termed practical religion. The object of the controversial tracts is not to controvert Pauranic idolatry or to justify Brahminism with respect to it, but for the most part to defend the theistic creed against the weapons of Christianity. When Vedantism became obsolete, and Brahminism was thrown back on the religion of external nature and reason and the intuitions of the mind, its reply to Christianity was that no book revelation of the Divine will could be of universal applicability; that God's revelations of Himself are made to the individual heart for the individual benefit alone; and that no revelation made to one man can be of authority to any other. God makes Himself known to each man personally by instructing his reason and quickening his intuitional nature; all divine revelation therefore, is internal, not external; and in so far as Christianity has a historical and dogmatic basis, it is untrustworthy and vain.

The Brahmins betray a disposition to resent the statement that the intuitional doctrine on which they now build so confidently, is a recent discovery, and has only succeeded Vedantism and nature-religion. The methods by which they seek to refute the charge are sometimes ingenious. We have lying before us "*A defence of Brahminism and the Brahma Samáj*," in which the following passage occurs:—

"The Reverend Mr. Mullens, in his essay on Vedantism, Brahminism and Christianity, says:—"Though the Brahmas claim the Vedas as a revelation of divine truth, they look primarily upon the works of nature as their religious teacher. From nature they learned first; and because the Vedas (as they assert) agree with nature, therefore they regard them as inspired." He quotes in support of the above assertion the following passage from the *Vedantic doctrines Vindicated*:—"The knowledge derived from the sources of inspiration deals with eternal truths, which require no other proof than what the whole creation and the mind of man unperverted by fallacious reasonings afford in abundance." It is therefore evident that the leaders of the Samáj at this

time considered the Vedas to be revealed solely on account of the reasonableness and cogency of their doctrines. Their error lay in believing that whatever they contained, was reasonable and cogent. As soon as they perceived their mistake after a wider study of the Vedas, they shook it off at once. Now why did they do so, so easily? The reason is that a higher standard of belief had always predominated in their minds over that of written revelation, that is, the standard of reason; and as conscientious men, they could not continue professing that to be a revelation which was found to contain errors. The Samaj still holds that only those doctrines and precepts of a religious book that are reasonable and true, are worthy of its belief as revealed by God who is the fountain of all truths. The present members of the Samaj maintain that the conformity of a doctrine to the dictates of reason in its intuitive and discursive forms, constitutes its sole claim to our belief; that intuition lays the ground-work, and reasoning raises the superstructure of religion. As all reasoning is based on intuitive belief, and as the Samaj has never denied the importance of reasoning in the determination of religious truth, its recognition of intuition cannot be reckoned as an organic change of principle but as rather a development of one previously entertained.'

There is a curious confounding here of reasoning with intuition. Reason, as a revelation, is, no doubt, prior to any book that may claim divine authority, because the reasoning faculty must to some extent be developed to qualify us to entertain the thoughts of another; but reasoning can only proceed on data, and where these are insufficient or false, the conclusions we arrive at become untrustworthy. If the authority of the Vedas was accepted by the early Brahmas on sufficient data, then the modern Brahmas are wrong in rejecting it. If the data were unreliable, and if the intuitions of the early Brahmas nevertheless led them to receive the Vedas as an inspired revelation, then their intuitions were at fault. At any rate they must be regarded as furnishing a curious instance of how men's reason and intuitions may be at variance with one another. And if the modern Brahmists maintain that they have not shifted their ground, then it follows that they too, like their earlier brethren, may accept intuitionally what is neither "reasonable nor cogent." If the earlier Brahmas "perceived their mistake after a wider study of the Vedas," it must be that their intuitions led them into a mistake which their reason afterwards corrected. But if one's intuitions can lead one into any such mistake, then it surely is hazardous to regard them as the ground-work of religion.

Let us not be misunderstood. We are not attempting to underestimate, much less to deny, the importance of the relation in which our intuitions stand to the religious principle within us. We only want to show that the Brahmists really have changed their ground. The early Brahmists dreamed nothing of intuitions: with them the Vedas were an inspired authority. The teachings of these sacred

books were received as true, so long as they were believed to teach that there was a one personal God,—a doctrine that commended itself to reason ; but when their Pantheism stood revealed, they were set aside. The book of nature henceforward became the only revelation of God ; and it was not till nature was found to give but an uncertain answer to questions of the deepest import that the men whose spiritual cravings were becoming better defined and intenser day by day, sought the refuge of intuitionism. The heart of God must be interpreted by our own highest and holiest sympathies : this is the key-note of Brahma intuitionism, and herein we are at one with them. We only differ from them in maintaining that the key which unlocks the mystery of the divine character, was put into our hands by Jesus Christ. Let our hearts in their holiest and truest affections be the interpreters of God to us ; but we did not know that they ought to be so regarded, till Jesus Christ came and told us so. The doctrine of the divine Fatherhood was enunciated by *His* lips ; the brotherhood of the race is *His* grand thought.

But although we cannot accept the averment that Brahmism has altered none of its features, we have no fellow-feeling with those who quote these changes as an argument against it. To us they are an evidence of honesty of conviction,—a recommendation rather than a stain. All sensible Brahmas maintain that they are still only seekers after the truth. Now to seek after truth and to find it in the successive steps of its manifestation, means progress. And what is progress ? Is it not essentially a leaving of things which are behind, and a pressing towards the things which are before ? We grant there may be change without progress ; but this is not the case with Brahmism. Each change here has been a step in advance. Vedantism, notwithstanding its immeasurable superiority to the polytheism from which it disengaged itself, spoke only of a God at an infinite distance from man ; nature-religion brought Him nearer, in the world of beauty and wisdom and loving-kindness everywhere around us. Intuitionism, as it is called by the Brahmas, but in reality Christianity, has given them a Father in Heaven with all the fulness of love implied in the relation. These changes show that a progress of development is going on ; that thought and the spiritual nature are expanding together, and that so far from accounting such changes a discredit to the Brahma movement, the members of the Samaj should glory in them. To deny that they have taken place, is to be ashamed of progress, and to regard honesty of conviction as a weakness to be concealed.

But the most important inquiry still remains—the attitude of Brahmism with respect to Christianity. What its relation is in its present intuitional stage, we have already hinted at ; its

attitude is a question of more than ordinary interest. No one can read the cold intellectual 'vindications' so called of Ram-mohun Roy, and compare them with the fervid heart-tones of Keshub's teaching, without being struck with the progress that Brahmissm has made in the interval. During the first years of its existence it was little better than a cold speculation which might be of interest to men, but which it was not expedient to push to any practical extreme, on account of the hostility it would be sure to awaken. It was an esoteric philosophy which needed not to be obtruded upon the vulgar or flaunted before their eyes, but might be held consistently with the observance of all the superstitious and idolatrous rites of the old system. The Brahmissm of the present day, if it seeks to be anything, seeks to become a spiritual power, and not only to reign in the intellect but to regulate the heart and give shape and purpose to the whole life. If its attitude towards Christianity is to be determined by the share that Christ's life and words have had in the formation of the religious character of its leader, there can be little doubt that it derives its unction, its spirituality, and its aspirations from Christianity, although it refuses to be identified with it. In a lecture delivered in London on Christianity, Keshub is reported to have made the following statement :—

'It has always struck me that there must be something inexplicably interesting in the fact that I have continued steadfast in my attachment to Christ, in spite of my standing aloof from many of the dogmas inculcated and taught by Christian missionaries in India. Why have I cherished respect and reverence for Christ? Why have I every now and then felt exceedingly willing to read the Bible, although I stand outside the pale of Christian orthodoxy? Why is it that though I do not take the name of 'Christian,' I still persevere in offering my hearty thanksgivings to Jesus Christ? There must be something in the life and death of Christ, there must be something in His great Gospel which tends to bring comfort and light and strength to a heart heavy-laden with iniquity and wickedness. I must say that I never studied Christianity by having recourse to controversial writings; I very seldom took delight in anti-Christian works; nor did I ever try to betake myself to all those voluminous books which treat of the evidences of Christianity. I studied Christ ethically, nay spiritually, and I studied the Bible also in that same spirit; and I must to-night acknowledge most candidly and sincerely that I owe a great deal to Christ and to the Gospel of Christ.' *

* This confession may be "most candid and sincere," but we cannot refrain from pointing out that it reveals too obvious a fact to be necessary. It is as though a native of India should candidly and sincerely confess that he derives a great deal of heat from the warmth of the sun. Keshub Chunder Sen not only owes a great deal, but everything to

His estimate of Christ is given a little further on.

'There is something in the Bible which has staggered many who stand outside the pale of orthodox Christianity, and that is the egotism of Christ. I always look upon that as a sublime egotism and self-assertion. Christ says truly, "Love God, love man, and ye shall inherit everlasting life;" but still does he not say "I am the way; I am the light of the world?" Does he not say, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy-laden and I will give you rest?" Not in one or two exceptional passages, but in many passages does he lay considerable stress upon this 'I.' There is constant allusion to Himself as the way to eternal life. He who said, The only way to eternal life is the love of God and the love of man also says, "I am the way." Jesus Christ, then, truly analysed, means love of God and love of man. In Him we see a heavenly embodiment of this love of God as the Father, and the love of man as the brother; and instead of there being a contradiction, we find that there is an absolute and most charming harmony between these two precepts. If we love God and love man we become Christ-like, and so attain everlasting life. Christ never demanded from me worship or adoration that is due to God the Creator of the Universe. He appears to me to put Himself forward in the gospel as the way, not the goal; as my guide, not the destination at which I have ultimately to arrive. He places Himself before me as the spirit which I must imbibe in order to approach the Divine Father, as the great teacher and guide who will lead me to God. "I am the way," he said; and if we avail ourselves of that way we shall reach our destination, which is not Christ, but God the Father. If he does not demand from me worship, what is it then that he does demand from me? Obedience.'

The above extracts give a very fair notion of Keshub's gospel. His spiritual sympathies are truer than his logic. He believes in the human Christ, but not in the divine Christ; and yet his own words show that in accepting the human, he is forced unconsciously to admit the Divine. The admission he makes is significant. "In Him we see a heavenly embodiment of the love of God as the Father and the love of man as the brother." If Christ is an 'embodiment' of the love of God, and if, as Keshub elsewhere teaches, love is the essence of the Divine Being, then it follows that Christ is an incarnation of the Divine love. No one can undertake to embody the Divine love, that has not a soul capacious enough to take in that love in its infinite measurements. To have such a soul is to be Divine; and the logical conclusion is that Christ is what Christianity asserts Him to be—'God manifest in the flesh.' Besides, it does not do for Keshub to accept some of Christ's statements, and not others. He who spoke of Himself

Christianity. There is not a trace of oriental-ism in his entire system,—his appreciation even of Eastern mysticism he has learned from Western thinkers.—*Ed., Calcutta Review.*

as 'the way,' also said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," and claimed it as His right that "all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father." Either this bold piece of 'egotism' announced a truth however startling, or it was blasphemy. If it was blasphemy, then Christ is not a guide in whom man can trust; if it is a truth He uttered, then Keshub owes Him not only obedience but worship. Furthermore, Keshub is evidently not aware of all that his own words imply. What does he mean by the 'egotism and self-assertion' of Christ? He means, we suppose, that there is a personality about Him of the most definite character—a personality above that of common men. How can he, then, impressed with this fact, turn Christ into a mere abstraction by saying that, 'when analysed,' He 'means, love of God and love of man'? No abstraction has ever swayed the world. The secret of Christ's strong personality lies in the fact that He is the 'embodiment' of the Divine love. There is no egotism in an abstraction. It is therefore only as a Divine Person, the Divine Revealer of the Father, that He displays the 'egotism and self-assertion' that have called forth Keshub's admiration. But it is not our wish to enter the domain of theological controversy. We have only said what we thought was necessary to show the precise relation in which Keshub Chunder Sen, as the representative of the *Brahma Samáj*, stands to Christianity.

The danger to which *Brahmism* is exposed is dogmatism. *Brahmas* may be amused to hear this. They may fancy that if any religionists are free from this vice, and are likely to remain free, they are the men. We may be asked how we have read Keshub's reiterated denunciations of dogma and the spirit of dogmatism. In sooth, there is no subject on which the *Brahma* leader waxes more eloquent than when he condemns a dogmatic theology. Religion with him, as we are frequently reminded, is a thing of the emotions and the spiritual nature, and is all the better for being entirely dissociated from doctrinal formulas. We sympathise in much that is said from time to time on this subject. It is not to be denied that a religion beaten out and mathematically divided and subdivided under abstract headings or formulated beliefs, is very apt to lose life and beauty in proportion as it is cut and squared into logical precision. But on the other hand, the men who denounce dogma most liberally are most apt to become dogmatic. This is one of Keshub's dangers: indeed, as we have already said, it is a danger to which *Brahmism* as such is more liable than its disciples may be willing to allow. *Brahmism* professes to represent the progressive religious thought of young India. It is its boast that it is seeking truth in whatever quarter it may be found. Its proper attitude, therefore, is that of inquiry. Inquiry however implies uncertainty: it is a state of mind confined, by its

very nature, to the thoughtful few. On the other hand, what the great mass of men are influenced by, is not philosophic inquiry, but dogmatic certainty. They want a religion which gives them a fixed, well-defined something which they can believe and rest in: a creed in a transitional state finds but small favour with them. Now Brahminism, to judge by the tone beginning to be assumed by its exponents, is becoming dogmatical. The people want dogma, and the temptation is strong to satisfy them. Why do Brahma lecturers assume an antagonistic attitude toward Christianity? Why, if they represent only the inquiring spirit of the age, do they strive to warn their hearers against the doctrines of the Gospel? Why are they constantly seeking to undermine its influence by making it out to be an effete superstition? They do this at the same time that they are constrained to acknowledge the obligations they owe to its founder. Their endeavours to prevent its progress at the same time that there is so much in it that they confessedly admire and reverently believe, can only be accounted for by their desire to exalt Brahminism, and establish it as the only truth. This is essentially the spirit of dogmatism. Whilst they profess to be only seekers after the truth, they, unconsciously perhaps, are betrayed into the construction of a dogmatic creed, which may make and keep disciples, but is fatal to the spirit of inquiry.

But though we have lying before us sundry Brahma treatises betraying a manifestly unfriendly spirit towards the very Christianity to which the system owes so much, it is but right that we should exonerate Keshub Chunder Sen from this charge. He has apprehended Jesus Christ more truly than any of his fellow Brahmas, and, in some respects, more fully than many Christians. His celebrated lecture, 'Jesus Christ—Europe and Asia,' shows that although he does not believe in a 'God manifest in the flesh,' he has understood many of the grand lessons of that Divine life on earth. Take for example such a passage as the following:—

'The two fundamental doctrines of Gospel ethics, which stand out prominently above all others, and give it its peculiar grandeur and its pre-eminent excellence, are, in my opinion, the doctrines of forgiveness and self-sacrifice: and it is in these that we perceive the moral greatness of Christ. These golden maxims, how beautifully he preached, how nobly he lived! What moral serenity and sweetness pervade his life! What extraordinary tenderness and humility, what lamb-like meekness and simplicity! His heart was full of mercy and forgiving kindness: friends and foes shared his charity and love. And yet, on the other hand, how resolute, firm and unyielding in his adherence to truth! He feared no mortal man, and braved even death itself for the sake of truth and God. Verily, when we read His life, his meekness, like the soft moon, ravishes the heart and bathes it in a flood of serene light; but when we come to the grand consummation of

His career, His death on the cross, behold, He shines as the powerful sun, in its meridian splendour ! It is these two cardinal principles of Christian ethics, so utterly opposed to the wisdom of the world, and so far exalted above its highest conceptions of rectitude, which require to be fully impressed upon the European and native races ; as upon the proper appreciation of these, I believe, depends the reformation of their character.'

A reverent appreciation such as this of Christ's character, can only have come of earnest study and honest belief. The theism Keshub professes, may not differ, essentially, from the Unitarian creed, or the rationalism of England and the Continent ; and yet there is this important difference between them, that their relation to Christianity is not the same. Brahmissm is the purer faith that asserts itself in opposition to a Pauranic idolatry, and owes whatever vitality it has to contact with the spirit of Jesus Christ. The rationalism of Europe is a reaction from the theology of the churches. Both may be equally distant from the Christianity of Christ, but the one is feeling its way towards it, and the other is seemingly retiring from it. The one is seeking the truth ; the other declares that it has found it. Let Brahmissm beware lest in mere imitation of the rationalism of Europe, it should forfeit its character for earnest and unprejudiced inquiry.

The conclusions to which Brahmissm has as yet arrived (for even an intuitional religion must have its doctrinal beliefs), may be summed up as follows : There is one personal God, the Father of all men, whose nature is love, and who, speaking in the heart of every man, seeks to bring him into communion with himself. There is and can be no written revelation of the Divine will, for the very notion of "a book-revelation is self-contradicting and suicidal. "Revelation is a state of the mind, a process of intelligence, a truth, "an actual fact of consciousness. Hence a book-revelation, inasmuch "as it is a book, an external object, cannot be scientifically called "a revelation. Revelation is subjective, not objective." It follows that all our ideas of God are intuitive and not derived. God forgives, but every man must be purified by a moral discipline which may be extended into the life to come. This is the only atonement, for "atonement, scientifically considered, is nothing more "than a return to God. The word *atone* simply means to be *at* "one with God—to be reconciled to Him. By the commission "of sin we turn astray from Him : we cease to enjoy His company. "By an atonement we renounce our sin, again draw near to Him, "and enjoy the blessing of His company. Hence the turning back "to God is the whole philosophy of atonement. Hence our belief "that repentance is atonement." The future life is identified with the perfection of the spiritual nature, and fulness of communion with God. The whole race of men constitutes one vast brother-

hood, and caste is only an audacious and sacrilegious violation of God's law of human brotherhood.

Such are the leading ideas on which Brahmsm is based. Its intuitions so called, are derived from Christianity; its spirit, so far as it is true and noble, comes from the life of Jesus Christ; but it ignores its origin, and, in so far as it does this, it is weak, and is distrusted by many who otherwise feel sympathy with struggling light and freedom. There are men in this metropolis, and their number is daily increasing, who have shaken off the trammels of caste, but who will not join the ranks of Brahmsm, because they feel that in ignoring Christianity, Brahmsm has been untrue to itself. What deters them from assuming the Christian name, is the injury to social standing that such a step is likely to entail. They have a position among their kindred and friends, and in society generally, which, they fear, will be forfeited the moment they consent to be called Christians. As, however, the Government begins to recognize the existence of native Christians as an element in the body politic, and the age begins to find that members of a family, though Christian, need not be banished from their Hindu homes, Brahmsm, unless it retracts its boast and acknowledges its indebtedness to Christianity, will find its Samájes deserted and its influence fast decaying. Men will prefer Christianity with its historical basis and its living spirit to a doubtful intuitionism, a parasite which vaunts an independent existence at the very time that it is feeding on the life of another. That which keeps many Brahmas in Brahmsm and prevents them from avowing a Christian faith, is not the ability of intuitionism to satisfy the religious nature, but the social disabilities which the profession of Christianity is believed to entail. Brahmsm is not the goal, and they feel it.

We have thus endeavoured to give a sketch of the religious movement inaugurated by Rammohun Roy. Whatever may be its defects, it is immeasurably superior to the Hinduism of the Puranas. It has raised the tone of morality, and awakened spiritual yearning among a people hitherto in bondage to gross and demoralizing superstitions. It has its mission, and it is fulfilling it: but to live on and endure, it must become more than what it is. It has yet to accept the Christianity of Christ. We do not wish to force upon it the theology of our Christian sects; we would much rather that it developed itself in harmony with the genius of the people. By all means let it be national: but it must be Christian.

ART. VI.—BENGAL IN 1870.

IF a stranger arriving in Calcutta some eight or ten years ago had made enquiry regarding the political parties into which the country was divided, he would have found that there were only two. On the one hand, was the interlopers' or non-official party, which consisted almost exclusively of English planters and merchants, with an occasional High Court Judge whose combative instincts were stronger than his sense of official decorum. On the other side, were the officials—the representatives of what in the favourite jargon of their adversaries was termed 'obstructive civilianism' who chiefly regarded native interests and were believed to be secretly influenced by the most malignant if not positively murderous feelings towards every white man who had not signed a certain mystic document in Leadenhall Street.

All this is changed now. The country is still divided into two political parties, but the line of distinction between them has altered. The one consists of the central government and some of its immediate employés; and the other includes, as far as we have been able to learn, nearly every other inhabitant of Bengal, European or native, who has political opinions of any kind. Of course an enormous majority of the population never troubles its head about Government and its proceedings at all, beyond making an occasional complaint that the bunniahs are not ordered to sell grain cheap, or that the police have been troubling the village more than ever of late; but, wherever one goes throughout the Lower Provinces, all the most influential part of the community appears to regard our rulers with uniform feelings of hostility and distrust. Some give one reason, some give another; but, whatever the cause may be, we believe the fact will not be controverted that the general feeling of the country is such as we have indicated. Even the officials are not now different in this respect from the rest of the world. Far be it from us to say that they do not loyally endeavour each at his particular post to do the work entrusted to them, and so to support the administration under which they serve; but after office hours as they sit round some imperfectly polished mofussil substitute for mahogany when a bottle of Chateau Margaux has unloosed their tongues—at such times as these, we say, even officials often express in the strongest terms their dislike and contempt for the political system of which they form a part. Each man's own department or at all event so much of it as he himself controls, is beyond the reach of cavil, but everything else is rapidly going to the bad. Nor is even this the worst. In India every man's most private thoughts

are known to all his neighbours almost before they have taken any definite shape in his own mind, and it is whispered here and there by those who make it their business to collect and retail scandalous stories, that even among the high civil dignitaries for whom we specially pray in Church, if not in the Supreme Council itself, there are men who would astonish us by their revolutionary sentiments if they could only throw aside the robes of office and openly say what they think.

Now it seems to us very necessary that the cause of all this should be discovered. No country can be in a satisfactory condition when the sentiments of its whole population are united in opposition to its rulers, when the most truly representative critics of Government are those who can express the most unpleasant half-truths regarding it in the strongest and most contemptuous language. The blame may lie entirely with Government, or entirely with its opponents, or it may be equally divided between them, but, whatever the cause may be, no body politic can be in a healthy condition when the state of public feeling is such as we have described.

The old hostility between officials and independent Europeans has evidently died out because the causes which occasioned it have ceased to exist. The days when the Company was a corporation of traders who necessarily regarded every interloper as a rival whom self-interest compelled them to harass and restrain, have receded into the dim past. There is little to recall their memory, and the passions and prejudices which the old state of circumstances naturally led to, have gradually become weaker and weaker. The indigo disputes in Bengal served for a time to revive the old feeling of antagonism, but they also are now nearly forgotten; and there is hardly any important public question with regard to which the interests of European settlers exceptionally clash with those of the native community, or with the official view of public policy. All this however only goes to show how the old parties have died out, and does nothing towards explaining the present state of political feeling. To discover this, we must go further into detail.

The most obvious and not the least powerful cause of irritation is undoubtedly the simple necessary pressure of a heavy income-tax. It falls with exceptional weight on the commercial community, who loudly express their complaints in the English newspapers; while the native press throughout the country re-echoes their words in fifty different keys. But this is very far from being the whole truth even with regard to this particular tax. In the autumn of last year when the rate was raised from 1 to 2 per cent, the public acquiesced in, if it did not approve of, the measure; and something more than the mere addition of Re. $1\frac{1}{8}$ per cent is

required to account for the subsequent total change of feeling. There must have been something in the manner and circumstances of the increase to aggravate its necessary unpleasantness.

And it is not very difficult to see what that something was. Men acquiesced in the burdens laid upon them last year, because reasons were given to prove their necessity; they indignantly protest at present, because they, rightly or wrongly, believe that no such necessity exists. Even at the time when Sir Richard Temple made his budget statement for the present year, it seems to have been very generally doubted whether his estimates were trustworthy, and since that time it has been officially announced that the regular estimates, founded on the actual accounts in some departments of eleven and in most of ten months, were so very far from correct that the year in fact ended with a trifling surplus, instead of a deficit amounting to two-thirds of a million. Even this is not all. The accounts with which the financial department has to deal, are so vast and complicated, and it is so impossible for any minister to foresee the precise extent of the charges incurred on account of home expenditure, that errors may be unavoidable even at the close of a year, and we feel certain that the mere occurrence of such mistakes would have done little towards exciting the bitter feeling of opposition with which Government is at present regarded, if it had not at the same time been evident that no serious effort was made to put our finances on a sounder basis. The Duke of Argyll and his Council are no doubt responsible for the continuance of unnecessary separate military establishments in this country, as well as for the reckless extravagance which seems to characterize all our home expenditure, but there is no evidence of a serious attempt at economy in any direction. Large savings have no doubt been effected under the heading of ordinary public works, but this result has to a great extent been attained by stopping practical work which will have to be done sooner or later, while keeping up establishments on the same scale as before,—a process which any private firm of contractors would probably characterise as ruinous extravagance rather than judicious economy. Not without reason then has our recent financial administration been charged with an equal deficiency in earnest purpose and technical skill, and the irritation which under such circumstances could hardly be avoided has been greatly aggravated by the attitude of studied contempt with which all external criticism and every demand for information on the part of the public has been systematically treated. "*Populus me sibilat,*" the Financial Department seems to say, "*at mihi plaudo ipse domi.*" It is not our object needlessly to revive unpleasant recollections, and we therefore refrain from reproducing the curious correspondence in which our financiers, after they had been good enough to give the Chamber of Commerce a few lessons in book-

keeping, fell such helpless victims to the superior logical skill of Mr. Wood; but we are compelled to refer to the case as the best illustration which can be found of what we mean by saying that Government contemptuously refuses to furnish the information which is required for the guidance of public opinion. The Financial Department may be perfectly right in their opinion that the favourable financial results of last year cannot be expected to recur; but if so, it was evidently both their best policy and their plain duty to set forth the grounds of their conclusion on the occasion to which we refer. If any of the various departments of Government is likely to be this year more costly or less productive than formerly, the reasons should have been stated in detail. Mere general assertions command no credit, when they come from the mouths of men whose prophecies have hitherto shown but little correspondence with subsequent facts. On the contrary, they lead of necessity to a strong suspicion that nothing definite is stated because nothing definite is known, that our Chancellor of the Exchequer does not name the department in which a deficit is likely to occur, because he has only the vaguest possible notions on the subject himself. The tone, too, in which the remonstrances of the commercial community were met would have been unnecessarily reserved in the mouth of a Gladstone addressing an ordinary deputation of vestrymen. It was therefore something more than unnecessarily reserved when it was Sir Richard Temple who had to address the leading mercantile men of India.

These are, we believe, the causes which have chiefly served to excite the opposition of the European part of the community, but with regard to the native population Government has a very much worse case. Theoretically an income-tax may be as well suited to the economic condition of India as to that of most other countries, and if it were allowable to close our eyes to the hard facts which surround us, a great deal of weight might be attached to the arguments of those who say that Bengal with its permanently settled land-revenue and wealthy middle class has less reason than any other part of India to grumble at direct taxation of this sort. In fact, if it were possible to make a just and proper assessment, all that they say would be true, but unfortunately while in other provinces of India the people can often be got to assess themselves by means of village panchayats, nothing of the sort can be done here. Government has to rely solely on a special establishment of assessors, and what the result is, every mofussil officer knows. Everywhere the rich escape and the poor are unduly burdened. Bitter discontent is universal. In some districts where the population is of a turbulent character, disturbance is apprehended. In another direction we could name a zemindar whose ryots have actually fled

across the British frontier to escape the chance of being sold out of house and home.* Every district officer and every Commissioner tells the same story as the native and English press, while to all alike Government replies with an incredulous smile, that as only one man in five hundred is taxed, no great pressure can be felt. Whether assessments are or can be fairly made, whether native assessors and their subordinates make use of the power of oppression which they must necessarily possess,† whether the poorer classes in this way feel and dislike the tax—all these are simple questions of fact which must be decided on the evidence of competent witnesses, and placidly to meet them with the assertion that only one man in five hundred can have cause to complain, is nothing to the purpose. These are matters into which Government is bound to enquire, and the persons to whom its enquiries should be addressed are neither the Manchester Chamber of Commerce nor the Pope nor the ex-Emperor of the French, but the many intelligent persons, native and European, official and non-official, who reside in the mofussil of Bengal. It is not an abstract economic question, but one of practical administration and good policy.

Even statistics, however, tell the same tale, as will appear from the following figures, if we bear in mind the fact that in England a man's own statement of his income can generally be received as practically correct, but in India scarcely ever. The superficial area of Bengal is estimated at 337,000 square miles. The population is roughly calculated as forty millions, and the number of actually surveyed villages in the regulation districts alone is 164,879. These so-called villages often include several distinct groups of houses or villages in the English sense, and in order to form an estimate of the amount of work which has to be done, it is necessary to take this fact into consideration, as well as to allow for the non-regulation provinces for which we are unable to give correct figures. Now the only

* Since the above was written, we have learned that the case referred to is not a solitary one. We also hear that in Chota-Nagpore the income tax is commonly known among the natives as "the oppression tax." From another part of the country numerous petitions have been sent up, each signed by fifty or sixty people, in which one of the grievances alleged is a breach of faith on the part of Government in imposing the existing heavy tax, in spite of assurances previously given that even the comparatively light rate levied last year should only be temporary. Whether the assessors gave such assurances, it is impossible to say.

In any case combined petitions of this kind indicate the existence of a state of public feeling which is very undesirable in a district largely inhabited by Wahhabis, or, as they are there called, Ferazis, and noted for the unscrupulous boldness of its numerous river dacoits.

† The only way in which an assessor's work can be tested is by the amount of his collections and the unfrequency of appeals against his assessments. It is therefore evidently his interest to let the rich off easily, and to recover the amount so sacrificed from men too poor to bear the cost of an appeal.

machinery for taxing all these forty millions consists of sixty-one special assessors and a hundred over-worked sub-divisional officers. If any one hopes that with an establishment of this strength even an approximation to a correct assessment can ever be made he must be very sanguine in his views, and a few minutes' conversation with any one of the sixty-one assessors would thoroughly undeceive him. If the number were doubled or trebled, it would not make very much difference, for the task before them would still be far beyond what they could ever hope really to accomplish, and in fact nothing can in our opinion be more evident than the utter impossibility of making anything like a serious attempt at a correct assessment till the people can be induced to make it in some way for themselves. If the village institutions whose destruction our laws have so effectually completed, should ever, in whatever form, be revived, equitable direct taxation may become possible. Till then, every attempt in that direction must necessarily fail. Neighbours, putting their heads together, might form a very fair guess as to a man's income, and comparatively little attempt would be generally made to deceive such a tribunal; but a stranger coming for a day to a village cannot hope to arrive at correct results.

To sum up, then, the case with regard to the income tax, it would appear that the opposition excited by its inevitable pressure has been increased and embittered by the universal belief that no serious attempt at economy has been made, and that either owing to the complicated system with which it has to deal or to the want of special capacity, the estimates of revenue and expenditure made by the Financial Department are entirely untrustworthy. It has also been apparent that Government, while itself very imperfectly informed as to the real effect of its measures on the country and consequently very imperfectly competent to frame a sound financial policy, has received all criticisms and suggestions coming either from its own subordinates or from the non-official public in a most unjustifiable attitude of contempt and defiance. As for the native population, they are angry and excited for the very sufficient reason that they are everywhere liable, if not actually subjected, to oppressive exactions pitilessly enforced.

With the single exception of the income tax, the recent controversy on the subject of education has probably done more than anything else towards exciting the feeling of uneasiness and discontent which seems to pervade the country. To the greater part of the European community the questions at issue in this case are matters of no concern, but to the whole native population they are of the most vital importance. Here, at all events, it cannot be said, even by one who regards facts only as they appear from Simla, that native criticism has been a mere echo of European opinion, and it

is therefore well worth while to consider whether this case, like that of the income tax, has not been treated in a radically wrong and perverse manner.

Now it is tolerably evident that if, as the Government of India apparently thinks, the educational system of Bengal is faulty and inefficient as well as unnecessarily expensive to the State, the first thing naturally was to determine the nature of its deficiencies and the mode in which they could be remedied. Next to this should have come an estimate of the expenditure required in making the necessary changes, and after this had been accomplished, the further question would remain whether the increased expenditure required could be met from the imperial exchequer, and, if this were not possible, in what form special provincial taxation could best be imposed.

Unfortunately nothing in the least resembling this course was followed. The real educational condition of the country, as we showed in our last number, has never been investigated, and it is therefore superfluous to add that no practical means have even been suggested of removing its defect. Nor has the financial branch of the question been more satisfactorily treated. All the details of the controversy have been so frequently and fully discussed that it is unnecessary for us here to do more than call attention to a few of the more prominent points; so, omitting for the sake of clearness all superfluous details, the first point to which we desire to call attention, is the extraordinary vagueness of idea and hastiness of judgment displayed in the first position taken up by the imperial Government, as expressed in a letter written by Mr. Bayley, the Home Secretary, in October 1867. Having apparently leaped for very insufficient reasons * at the

* Mr. Chapman, the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, in an able letter written in June 1868 says :—
“A missionary, well qualified to judge and experienced in respect to both provinces, tells me that in his judgment based upon intercourse with the people, there are decidedly more readers among the masses of the Lower Provinces than among the people up-country.” This is of course far from conclusive, but we have not met with the evidence of a single competent witness in support of the opposite view. There is no subject on which windy verbiage is more plentiful than the condition of the ryots in Bengal, but solid information regarding it is not easily

accessible. The testimony of some of our best missionaries must be received with some degree of caution. They are men, whose earnest philanthropy, undoubted honesty, and intimate knowledge of the people deserve and win for them the most attentive consideration, when they bring forward definite facts, but the special point of view from which they naturally regard the moral and intellectual condition of the people, as well as the tendency towards inconsiderate rhetoric, which the practice of pulpit oratory usually produces, makes it necessary to receive their wise opinions expressed in general terms with some reservation. There is a certain school of economists, too,

conclusion that primary education is less widely spread in the Lower Provinces than in other parts of India, Government in the letter to which we refer puts forward the strange proposal that the funds required for the purpose of extending vernacular education should be raised by a cess levied on all zemindars in proportion to their sudder jumma. It has, we believe, been disputed whether this was really the meaning of the proposals then put forward, but the plain words of the letter leave no room for doubt on this point, for after arguing that "the main burden of vernacular education in Bengal should, the Governor-General in Council thinks, fall not on the imperial revenues, but as elsewhere on the proprietors of the land," Mr. Secretary Bayley goes on to add in a subsequent paragraph :—"Regard being had to the circumstances of the country, it is probable that a cess, at least as heavy as that borne by the zemindars in the Central Provinces, viz. 2 per cent on the imperial revenue, might fairly be imposed." The origin of the misconception on which this curious suggestion was founded, may be very easily seen. Where the revenue paid to Government bears a fixed proportion to the gross produce, and the land is held either by village communities through their officers or by landlords who come into direct contact with the actual cultivators and can realize from them increased rents as their profits increase, a cess proportioned to the revenue paid to Government may be a very equitable mode of raising the funds required for the establishment of schools, the construction of roads, or any other useful purpose. It is quite a different matter in Bengal, where the amount of land-tax paid by him to Government affords no indication whatever of the profits received* by a zemindar, and where a very large part, if not a majority, of the land-holders have merely bought or inherited the right to receive a fixed rent-charge from the holders of permanent undertenures. The notion of imposing in Bengal a cess proportioned to the land revenue paid by each zemindar was evidently borrowed from the North-West, or the

whom any mention of the permanent to settlement irresistibly impels to vomit forth floods of neatly turned sentences about groaning masses, teeming millions, miserable serfs, and other similar topics. What we require is accurate information regarding the prevailing rate of wages, the price of food, the security of tenure and the tendency towards emigration, in different parts of India; and even the fullest statistics regarding these and other similar points are pretty sure to mislead in some way or other, unless they are handled by

men intimately acquainted with the social condition of the people to whom they refer. Without this, mere figures can never be understood.

* So far as the amount of land revenue paid by a landholder from being a test of his income that, as Babu Joykishen Mookerjee says, a man sometimes pays Rs. 50,000 to Government and has only Rs. 10,000 for himself; while Mr. Money, the Commissioner of Bhaugulpore, reports that "zemindars of ten and twenty thousand Rupees will pay in some instances less than Rs. 100 of revenue."

Punjab, by men quite ignorant of the social condition of the Lower Provinces,* and the possibility that such defective information should exist among those to whose hands is committed the financial and executive control of every department of the administration, is, in our opinion, sufficient of itself to prove that there is something radically wrong in our present system of government.

Subsequently the discussion took a somewhat altered form. Local roads wandered in among the primary schools, and the Supreme Government, while adhering to its opinion that only land-holders should be taxed, seems to have given up the notion that the proposed cess should be proportioned to their sudder jumma. Ultimately this position also was evacuated and the proposal made to tax all persons interested in 'rateable' property, whatever that may be. The despatch addressed to the Home Government has been studiously kept out of sight, but it may be inferred from the Duke of Argyll's reply that this was its general purport.

However this may be, the whole matter was referred to the Secretary of State, who replied in a lengthy despatch, and laid down for future guidance, three cardinal principles; firstly, that the zemindars of Bengal are, like all other classes of society, liable to taxation; secondly, that local taxation is necessary at all events for the purpose of constructing roads; and thirdly, that a cess is to be imposed by the local Government on all proprietors of, and all persons (whether agricultural or urban) who are interested in, property which can be made accessible to rates.

Now the first of these principles had never recently been disputed, and has been more or less consistently acted upon ever since the time of the late Mr. Wilson. The second may have been thoroughly equitable and politic, though the principal argument used in its support during the controversy to which we refer, was a consistent refusal on the part of the Supreme Government to hear a word against it. Of the third it is not too much to say, that if it were not so vague as to be practically meaningless, no words could well be found too strong to use in reprobation of its mischievous absurdity. It has already been pointed out that the amount and nature of our requirements for schools and roads have never been determined or even enquired into, and it is evident that the choice of a cess on rateable property, as the best form of local taxation, has been made with an equal want of careful consideration. Indeed, it

* In a letter written on April 25th 1868, Mr. Secretary Bayley actually says "not only can there be no reason why a similar tax should not be imposed for similar purposes in Bengal, but in the opinion of the

"Governor General in Council there is no part of India in which the proprietors of the land can be so justly expected to bear burdens of this nature."

may be said to have been arrived at almost by accident. If Bengal had been taken as it stands, and the attempt had simply been made to devise the most equitable and least burdensome mode in which a given sum could be raised, no sane person would ever have suggested that as a preliminary operation we should make an enquiry into the receipts and disbursements of nearly every man in the province. The income-tax is bad enough, but in theory it only affects a small minority, and it is a wise and statesmanlike measure compared to a cess on all interests in rateable property, involving, as it must, the necessary condition of an enquiry into the exact nature of every landed tenure in the country. Some conception of what this work would in some parts be, may be formed from the fact that in the single district of Chittagong there are 60,000 tenures held direct from Government; and that during the past year alone nearly 15,000 permanent under-tenures were created there. Heaven help the miserable sinner who has to enquire into them all, among a people who will joyfully spend their last rupee in litigation over an old stump of a tree worth perhaps four annas! As an alternative plan, we would beg to suggest that a poll-tax should be imposed, graduated according to the number of hairs on the heads of the population.

The fact of the matter is, that the present aspect of the question can only be explained historically. The discussion began, as we have shown, with a wild proposal to tax the zemindars of Bengal in proportion to their sudder-jumma, and, as no branch of the question has been distinctly and logically treated, the result is that the notion of a cess of some kind, as the only possible means of additional taxation, has apparently been accepted without discussion. There seems, too, to be a good deal of delusive confusion regarding the meaning of the phrase 'local taxation.' In England the term is applied to rates assessed and raised by elected representatives of limited communities, each of which spends on itself all the money which it collects. The system does not work altogether satisfactorily, and there is reason to think that it will soon be to some extent abandoned, but it undoubtedly possesses the merit of helping to train men into habits of self-government. Here the case is entirely different. Local taxation either has no distinct meaning whatever, or it simply means taxation peculiar to Bengal or some other part of the country. There are no small communities to whom the assessment and collection of taxes could be entrusted, and if the peasant, for whom, when it suits their purpose, our theoretic economists can express such vivid compassion,—if the peasant, we say, is to be harassed by direct taxation at all, it matters not a straw to him whether his payments are credited by the Account Department under the heading of Local Funds or Imperial Revenue. It may be said that men will bear taxes more readily

when they know that the proceeds go to pay for roads and other manifestly advantageous improvements, but this will be equally true whatever may be the form of our taxation. Facts are stubborn things, and what we want is a statesman who will study them, and whose mind is not enslaved to names and notions taken from England or from the Punjab. The permanent settlement of Bengal may have been a wise or an unwise measure ; for ourselves, we believe it to have been a disastrous result of that same Philistine incapacity to recognize unfamiliar facts of which we now complain ; but, whether its results were good or bad, it is too late to escape from them now, for the simple reason that the revenues unnecessarily then sacrificed are not now in the hands of any single class from whom they could be recovered, but have distributed themselves through a complicated system of under-tenures amongst the whole agricultural population from zemindar to ryot, or, in other words, they have been shared amongst something like nine-tenths of the people of the province.

All we have to do is simply to consider, with reference to recognized principles of taxation, how Bengal can most easily bear whatever burdens it is necessary to impose upon her. We must expel from our minds any hankering desire to come down on zemindars or ryots, or traders, or any other class of the community against whom we may on theoretic grounds entertain a grudge ; we must get rid of puzzle-headed notions about the term ' local taxation,' and recognize the fact that, at all events in this part of India, it simply means taxation peculiar to a single province ; for when we have done this, and not before, will it be possible for us temperately to estimate all proposed schemes of taxation with sole reference to equality of incidence, lightness of pressure on the people compared to the amount realized by the State, freedom from arbitrary assessment, and other such like points, which, out of India, are usually regarded among educated men as those to be chiefly considered. Bengal must not of course be allowed to shirk her fair share of contribution to the general revenue of the country, by crediting to herself customs duties really paid by consumers in Upper India. Payments must be credited to those out of whose pockets they actually come ; but, bearing this in mind, the sole test of merit in any proposed taxation should be its equitable incidence and the lightness of its pressure on the people. Whether similiar taxes are levied in Little Peddlington or Bunkumabad, and if so, whether they are there classified as ' local ' or ' imperial ' imposts—all such questions as these we would leave to amuse the leisure of idle people with a taste for comparative statistics. Common-sense generally prevails in the end, and we have no doubt whatever that the absurdity of the current notions, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say the current phraseology, on the subject of local tax-

ation will, at no very distant date, be recognized; but it is highly improbable that this desirable result will be attained so long as we have at the head of our financial administration a man who is such a slave to words and figures, and so enamoured of uniformity as gravely to state in Council that it distresses him to think, not that the general burden of taxation is too heavy in some particular province or class—not that the inequality of customs duties in different parts is so great as to induce smuggling,—that is not what distresses him, but the simple fact that the people have to pay a different price for their salt in different parts of the country. We cannot help wondering whether the same unpleasant effect is produced on Sir Richard's feelings when he reflects that the average height of men varies very much in different parts of the country, or that red hair is unequally distributed. It is not our intention to recommend the imposition of an increased salt tax as a way out of our alleged financial embarrassments; for what we suffer from is the extravagance of our outlay, and if our revenues are insufficient to meet the present rate of expenditure, a reasonable degree of economy in the great spending departments would at once restore the balance.* All we contend for is a system of finance not founded on thoughtless misinterpretations of words or fantastic analogies with other provinces and States, but a calm consideration of the requirements of each province; and if ever such a policy should be adopted, we are bold to say that, if additional burdens be really necessary, whatever else may be chosen as the least objectionable means of raising

* The real difficulties of the salt question of course arise from the fact that any great inequality of taxation between different parts of the country involves the necessity for expensive inland customs lines. We regret, however, to notice that Mr. W. Flower, a member of Parliament, writing in the last number of the *Indian Economist*, appears to have been misled by the old pseudo-philanthropic twaddle on the subject. Salt costs no more now than it did twenty or thirty years ago, and as prices generally have largely risen, it has proportionately fallen in value. Moreover salt is brought to Calcutta by ships which would otherwise have to come out in ballast, and every increase in Indian exports, increasing as it does the tonnage required to carry them, tends also to lower outward freights

and so to keep down the price of salt. A single full-grown man does not require more than a seer of salt in the month—costing him on an average about two annas. If the price were raised one-half, the result as affecting the lower classes would be a poll-tax varying between twelve annas per annum for full-grown men, to about one and a half or two annas for young children. A man with a wife and three children would perhaps pay one rupee eight annas altogether. But he would pay it without being aware of the fact. If any one really thinks that this would be more burdensome than a direct tax imposed in some complicated way on every one who has ever so small an interest in anything, we can only express our inability to conjecture how his opinions are arrived at.

the money required, it certainly will not be a tax involving either conjectural assessments by under-paid and over-worked native subordinates, or a detailed inspection of the private accounts of the whole agricultural population of the province. The blame does not lie with us if we have insulted the understanding of our readers by arguing seriously about such absurdities.

We have discussed at some length the way in which the income-tax question and the education controversy have been mismanaged, because we believe that the action of Government with respect to them is typical of the mode in which it treats a large number of the problems with which it has to deal. These two particular cases have come with unusual prominence under the notice of the public in consequence of the large pecuniary interests involved in them; but it is very safe to assume, and those who have an opportunity of judging are unanimous in declaring, that they are not unique or exceptional instances, but fair samples of the curious way in which we are governed. Political affairs in India are so carefully shrouded from the vulgar gaze, that only a few initiated persons know how they are carried on. When they are mismanaged, the outside world may have its suspicions; but it cannot generally produce evidence of the fact. All it knows of any case is the final decree. It would be tedious to support our view by further detailed criticism, but, as far as the prevailing system of jealous concealment will allow us to form an opinion, we hold ourselves fully justified in saying, that not only in the two particular matters which we have discussed, but in nearly every important case which comes before them, there is manifest, on the part of our present Government, the same feeble grasp of facts, the same want of sympathy with the people, the same preference of fanciful analogies to sound reasoning, and the same determination to prevent any such criticism or advice from without as might throw doubt on the perfect completeness of its handiwork, or disturb the basis of reports and tabular statements on which all its proceedings necessarily rest. An exception must be made regarding those cases which come before the Legislative Council where, in consequence chiefly of the untiring exertions of one clear-headed member, every matter connected with Bengal is at present sure to be thoroughly sifted.

What is required is a change, not of rulers but of system. It would not be easy to find in India a body of men on the whole more suited for the position which they hold than the present members of Council, and if the affairs of the country are very frequently mismanaged in the manner indicated above, we may feel certain that it is by reason of external causes, and not from any innate perversity of nature in men like Messrs. Strachey and Ellis. The *personnel* of our finance department is undoubtedly not so strong as one might wish, but great

financiers are not met with every day, and when found they are not very eager to expatriate themselves in India ; and our aim should for this, if for no other reason, be to devise, if possible, a system which can be worked by men of ordinary good capacity.

An illustration borrowed from Europe will throw some light upon the problem which has to be solved. Let us suppose, then, for a moment—God forbid that any part of our supposition should ever be realized—but let us suppose that the Prussians, under the leadership of their pious and Christ-like king, have succeeded in their design of reducing France to a state of complete powerlessness ; that they have swallowed up Holland, Denmark, Switzerland and Austria ; and that at last, by means of the force and fraud in the use of which they are equally skilled, they have succeeded in bringing all Europe under their supremacy ; or, if the fancy of our readers is unable to admit such a wild improbability, let us suppose that the Comtist dream has been realized, and that all Europe has been gradually brought, by the peaceful influence of moral ideas, into one great federation with Paris for its head and heart in one. Let us suppose, too, that the Central Council of a dozen men, which administers the affairs of Europe, lives half the year in Paris and half the year in the island of Madeira ; and that the system of centralized authority is so perfect, and the power of national governments and their subordinate prefects so circumscribed, that, without the order of the all-powerful twelve, not even an additional porter can be employed in the London Docks. The symmetry and order of such a government would be admirable. Everything relating to outlying provinces would be carefully reported to Paris in black and white. These reports would be numbered and docketed and reprinted in volumes of proceedings, so there would be no room for blundering or confusion. Justice would be administered, order would be preserved, taxes would be levied, on one uniform plan, which would gradually be brought to a state of perfection. There would, no doubt, be a grand central bureau of agriculture and trade, and it makes one's heart bound with excitement to think of the countless tons of tabular statements which would gradually be collected there. Think of the career, too, which would be offered by an army, in which a man might start as an ensign in the Italian *bersaglieri*, gain promotion as a Captain in a corps of Cossacks, and finish up by doing general duty with the British Horse Guards Blue. No doubt, there would be some slight disadvantages in such a system of government. The central authorities would necessarily be always in a state of the most profound ignorance of the facts with which they had to deal. Reports they would have by them in dozens on every subject under the sun, but the knowledge which can be gained from reports is not of an exhaustive kind. When a village was spoken of, the idea called up in

the mind of one honourable councillor would be a Russian commune, while another would immediately think of Peckham. If the Christian religion was mentioned in the course of any discussion, it would mean to one man the Free Kirk of Scotland, and to another the semi-idolatrous Catholicism of Southern Italy. A peasant to one man would mean a small Flemish landed proprietor, to another an Irish cottier. The Turks would bitterly complain that the great English proprietors did not pay anything like their fair share of land tax. A proposition would perhaps be brought forward, with the support of an unanswerable array of figures, that Oxford and Cambridge and Eton and Winchester should be disendowed, and the money spent in educating the bargees of the eastern counties. The soldiers might not be very ready to follow on the field of battle men whom they had seen for the first time a fortnight before. In a word, the wishes and sympathies of each separate people, and the peculiar social and economical condition of each particular State, would be omitted from consideration, for the very sufficient reason that they would be in the main unknown, and government would be conducted on such principles that it might possibly last three days—certainly not more.

Now, we should be very sorry to say that India, at the present day, is politically in such a state as that in which the various countries of Europe would be under the circumstances supposed. The strong individual self-assertion which characterizes men of Western origin is wanting here. Nor are there for the most part among the peoples of India a national history and body of traditions such as in Europe are alone and in themselves sufficient to fix a great gulf between one race and another. Still, the difference is only one of degree. Sikhs and Ooryas are as diverse in their character and social habits as Englishmen, Spaniards and Greeks. To us the differences between the various peoples of India appear less striking, because the wider distinction between all Orientals and ourselves diverts our attention from minor details; but they are not on that account the less real. At all events, they are quite wide enough to require, as a primary condition of good civil administration, a system so elastic as to allow the utmost possible diversity in the details of organization. Anything more totally irrational than the notion of governing in a progressive spirit two hundred millions of men belonging to a score of different nationalities, with no information to go upon but such as can be embodied in written reports—anything more absurd, we say, than this could hardly be devised.

As long as attention was concentrated on matters of foreign policy and internal administration was carried on in a purely conservative spirit, a centralized administration could do its work efficiently; but, at the present day, when our efforts are all expended on objects of internal administration, it is absolutely essential that the real go-

verning power should be in the hands of authorities sufficiently near to each particular case which may come under consideration, to understand its circumstances and form a sound judgment on its merits. If the real work of government be transferred from the supreme to the provincial authorities, uniformity and symmetry will no doubt be gradually lost. Administrative and fiscal progress will take a different direction in different places ; but to say this, is, in fact, to condemn the present system by the admission, that, if each province could consult its own special interests, it would not follow the course in which it is now compelled to go. The constitution of the present governing body offers no security that in the case of every matter which comes up for consideration there shall be even one man with sufficiently detailed local knowledge to understand aright its real nature ; and even, if there were one such man, his voice is liable to be overruled by others. Moreover in the multitude of councillors is wisdom, and, if the ablest man in each province were always in council to represent it, his single opinion would not be worth nearly so much as the united counsels of the numerous advisers of adequate knowledge with whose assistance a local government can frame its measures. To illustrate the case again by a comparison with Europe, if half-a-dozen of the ablest men in England had been appointed to settle the Irish land question, or to devise a scheme of English national education with no better information than could be got from a few reports, there can be no doubt that the result would have been a most miserable failure ; and yet they would have started with far greater advantages than Indian legislators command, because they would have been far more capable of full sympathy with the people affected by their deliberations. The chief advantage of such a system of government as we have in England, is the security which it affords, that before any measure is adopted, the facts of the case will be fully brought into relief by exhaustive criticism from every point of view. We cannot have the same security here, but we can at least do something in the same direction by putting the practical work of government, as far as possible, into the hands of men to whom a knowledge of the facts with which they have to deal, is not from the nature of their position inaccessible.

Nor is a closer connection between Government and the people, and a greater adaptation of its measures to their requirements, the only advantage which would be gained by such a decentralization of authority as we desire to see. One of the most fatal results of the present state of things is an enormous and daily increasing amount of insincerity in the practical work of administration. When some rule or order comes down from the Supreme Government, which, being founded on abstract theories, is inapplicable to existing circumstances, it is well known that remonstrances

are unavailing, and another mode of getting over the difficulty is therefore adopted. It is passed from grade to grade among those who are to carry it out with what may fitly be described in figurative language as a wink—the meaning of which is that the whole thing is rubbish, which must be tolerated, but does not deserve much respect. The Commissioner is fully aware that the Local Government concurs in his sentiment, and although he officially commends the objectionable order to the special attention and observance of the Magistrate, this officer has probably heard from him in the course of after-dinner conversation that the rule laid down cannot in his opinion really be observed, and the result of course is a mere hollow pretence of obedience. Perhaps the best instance of what we mean, is found in the frontier districts of the Punjab. Officers there who must do their work effectively or risk very serious consequences, are, if report speaks true, constantly compelled to go beyond the powers conferred on them by a criminal law unsuited to the place, and the result is that the tone of the whole administration is lowered by a system of sham compliance with the law which must inevitably break down under the supervision of the new Chief Court. In Bengal it is in numberless trivial matters that this sort of thing goes on. For instance, a magistrate knows that he is liable to a suit in the civil, if not in the criminal courts, if he impresses carts or coolies, but he also knows that he cannot travel through his district or provide carriage for the baggage of troops passing through, without doing illegal acts, and that if he fails to get what is required, he will be handed up, and rightly handed up, by his Commissioner to Government as a useless and inefficient officer. Some thirty years ago, before the system of sham compliance with inconvenient rules had been brought to its present perfection, constant correspondence on this subject used to be carried on between Government and district officers. Railways have now made requisitions for carts in great numbers a rare occurrence, but the law and practice as they stand are nevertheless still an instance of what we mean in complaining of insincerity in administrative work. If it is necessary that frontier officers should have wide and summary jurisdiction and that magistrates should have power to impress carts and coolies, authority for the purpose should be given by law, with proper limitation to prevent its abuse. And if we were governed on utilitarian principles by practical men, such authority would undoubtedly have been given. Nothing of the sort can be expected from pure theorists who take a bird's-eye view of the country from the slopes of the Himalayas and decline to believe that the same treatment is not always applicable to Wuzírís or Bengalis as to Englishmen.

To the Indian financier decentralization is the one only hope of real and lasting success. Till the same authorities are responsible for economy and administrative efficiency, we are sure to go from bad to worse. Every local Government clamours for the money which it wants to carry out the numberless schemes of improvement and reform which are pressed on its attention in every department. Any attempt made by the Supreme Government to cut down expenditure is looked upon as an injustice—almost as a personal affront—and strenuous efforts are made to oppose it. When local Governments have to provide their own ways and means, we may feel certain that they will in a very large number of cases form a different opinion on the comparative importance of economy and liberal establishments.

In devising a practical plan of decentralization, great difficulty will no doubt be found. Adequate security and elasticity of revenue must be secured for the central Government, if it is not at once to give up all use of the national credit and all large schemes of material improvement. This is one necessity of the case, and it is no easy task to reconcile it with the wide freedom of action which must be secured to the local Governments. It would be out of place at present to enter into the details of all the proposals which have at one time or another been put forward, and we will therefore content ourselves with saying in conclusion that, however short and halting may be the first step taken towards a rational system of government, it will deserve the approval of all candid men if it be honestly made in the right direction. Innumerable difficulties must at first prevent rapid progress, but the gratitude of all India will be due to the statesman who first buckles to the work which has to be done, with no paltry desire to shuffle off responsibility or to evade temporary embarrassment, but with a genuine recognition of the principle that if our rule is ever to have a solid foundation—if it is ever to adapt itself to the requirements of the people, we must throw aside once for all our passion for uniformity, and vest the widest possible discretion in those authorities who are brought sufficiently in contact with their subjects to know what they are and what they want.*

* Since the above article was written, the Resolution of the Supreme Government on the subject of decentralization has appeared in the *Gazette*. It would be presumptuous to criticise its details without bestowing on it far more careful consideration than the

time now at our disposal would admit of; and we now therefore merely express the hope that, however far this Resolution may leave us from the end which must finally be attained, it will still prove to be the beginning of a new and hopeful era.

ART. VII.—PERSIAN POETRY ;

WITH SOME TRANSLATIONS FROM HAFIZ.

SIX months ago we published in the pages of this *Review* translations of two or three poems from the writings of Saadi and Hafiz. In the observations prefixed to those translations, we hazarded the criticism that "good poetry among the Persians might almost be designated as accidental." The opinion gave great offence to a critic signing himself "Persicus," who appeared in the columns of the *Friend of India*, and with great vigour of language abused our translations, denounced us for "literary immorality," and applied a variety of uncomplimentary terms to our intellectual capacity. "Persicus"—who, we cheerfully acknowledge, possesses a far wider knowledge of Persian literature than ourselves—only asserted his own opinion so far as to say that a certain ode of Hafiz is one of the most beautiful love songs in the world. He relied mainly on the authority of Sir William Jones, who had declared that he knew of no English poet, except Chaucer or Shakespeare, who could be compared with the author of the *Musnavi*, and that the plan of the *Shahnamah* was in some respects finer than that of the *Iliad*.

These statements suggested the idea of the present essay. Critical judgments, when thus nakedly stated, are simply incomprehensible. It is impossible, at least so it seems to us, to express either assent or dissent, until we know the train of reasoning which has led up to it. To us Chaucer and Shakespeare are so totally unlike one another that without an explanation we do not see how they are both to be compared with a third ; and the *Musnavi* is, both in spirit and purport, so utterly different in kind to anything which Chaucer or Shakespeare wrote, that we cannot conceive on what characteristics, common to the three writers, Sir William Jones would base his comparison. The same difficulty encounters us in the judgment passed upon the *Shahnamah*. This poem is a rhymed chronicle of the ancient kings of Persia, and to compare it in point of plan with the *Iliad* appears to us as reasonable a proceeding as to assert that the plan of Hume's *History of England* is finer than that of the historical plays of Shakespeare. The two plans cannot be compared, because they have nothing in common. Finally, with regard to the Ode from Hafiz, the reply which at once occurs to one is obvious. What is your idea of a perfect love song ? And have you read all the love songs in the world to pronounce with so much confidence on the superiority of this particular one ?

Such were the thoughts which rose in our minds as we read Persicus's liberal denunciations of our intellectual ineptitude; and precisely the same objection, it appears, can be urged against our dictum on the accidental character of the fine passages in Persian poetry. The term needs explanation. We propose, therefore, in the present paper, to discuss both *the form* and *the matter* of Persian poetry, and to give our reasons for holding that, when judged by principles of comparative criticism, Persian poetry must be pronounced far below the poetry of Europe. Our illustrations will be drawn from English literature as most familiar to ourselves and our readers. We enter upon the discussion in no dogmatic spirit, and shall cheerfully surrender our convictions so soon as "Persicus" or any other Paladin of oriental learning shows them to be erroneous.

1. *The form.*—Poetry, says Coleridge, is not the proper antithesis or opposite to prose, but to science. Poetry is opposed to science, and prose to metre. The proper and immediate object of science is the acquirement or communication of truth. The proper and immediate object of poetry is the communication of pleasure. In other words, though poetry deals with truth, and exercises a power over the human heart only so far as it is rooted in and draws its life from truth, it presents truth to us under such forms only as communicate pleasure. Thus, for example, there is no subject on which poets have more delighted to dwell upon than war, there is no subject on which men have listened to them with keener delight. And yet intrinsically there is nothing so horrible and utterly revolting as the carnage and brutality of a battle-field. But a poet passes over all this as unfit for his purpose. He dwells only on the picturesque and elevating incidents of war; the animating sound of the trumpets, the glitter and thunder of a cavalry charge, the heroism, scorn of death, and splendid self-sacrifice, which come forth so conspicuously from the dark background of horror. It is thus that poetry is distinguished from the arduous path of knowledge, in that it creates "a smooth and finished road on which the reader is to walk onward easily, with streams murmuring by his side, and trees and flowers and human dwellings to make his journey as delightful as the object of it is desirable." It makes the road thither a source of distinct enjoyment, which stimulates the student, not less than the prospect of the end whither he hopes to be conducted.

But, as the definition, that the communication of pleasure is the immediate object of poetry, would include within its scope novels and other works of fiction, Coleridge proceeds to inquire after the special characteristic which distinguishes poetry from other compositions having the same object in view. This he finds in "that pleasurable emotion, that peculiar state and degree

of excitement which arises in the poet himself in the act of composition ; and which in all ages has found a means of expression in metre, in rhythmically arranged sentences, and a use and selection of (what are called) figures of speech, both as to their kind, their frequency, and their occasions, which on a subject of equal weight would be vicious and alien in correct and manly prose." As an example of the pomp and splendour of imagery, which a metrical arrangement renders beautiful and appropriate, take the following stanzas from Shelley's poem of *The Cloud* :—

"The sanguine sunrise with its meteor eyes,
And burning plumes outspread,
Leaps up on the back of my sailing rack,
When the morning star shines dead.
As on the jag of a mountain crag
Which an earthquake rocks and swings,
An eagle alit one moment may sit
In the light of his golden wings.
"I bind the sun's throne with a burning zone,
And the moon with a girdle of pearl ;
The volcanoes are dim, and the stars reel and swim
When the whirlwinds my banners unfurl.
From cape to cape with a bridge-like shape,
Over a torrent sea,
Sunbeam proof, I hang like a roof,
The mountains its columns be.
The triumphal arch through which I march
With hurricane, fire and snow,
When the powers of the air are chain'd to my chair,
Is the million coloured bow."

It would be difficult to surpass the splendour of this passage. Language, in the hands of Shelley, becomes an instrument as subtle and sensitive, as responsive to the minutest shades of feeling, as music itself. He is the very Turner among poets, in the vivid and airy touch with which he reproduces the fleeting and evanescent in nature, the atmospheric effects of storm and mist and sunshine. But magnificent as *The Cloud* is as a poem, any attempt to produce the same images and expressions in a prose composition would be absolutely intolerable. How is this ? What is there in a poem which allows this ? It is, says Coleridge, the pleasurable activity of mind aroused in the mind of the reader by the rhythmical arrangement. The reader is carried forward, not merely or chiefly by the mechanical impulse of curiosity, or by a restless desire to arrive at the final solution, but by the pleasurable activity of mind excited by the attractions of the journey itself. Like the motions of a serpent, which the Egyptians made the emblem of intellectual power, or like the path of sound through the air, at every step he pauses

and half recedes, and from the retrogressive movement collects the force which again carries him onward. "The final definition, then," Coleridge concludes, "may be thus worded: A poem is that species of composition which is opposed to works of science by proposing for its *immediate* object pleasure not truth; and from all other species having this object of pleasure in common with it, it is discriminated by proposing to itself such a delight from *the whole* as is compatible with a distinct gratification from each component part."* Thus, in the instance of *The Cloud*, the poet draws from each component part—from morning, evening, night, and storm,—a distinct gratification, which, however, does not absorb into itself the entire attention of the reader, but impels him forward "by the continued excitement of surprise, still gratified and still re-excited," and is always co-existent with a sense of pleasure from the poem as a whole, moulded and fused together by what Coleridge terms "the synthetic and magical power of the imagination." In other words, this is that unity of impression which must be imparted by any set of verses claiming for themselves the name of a poem.

"Unity of impression," however, having rather a vague sound, we will bespeak the patience of our readers while we adduce a few examples from English literature in illustration of our meaning.

In the tragedies of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, Shakespeare has made a supernatural visitation the agent which guides and controls the whole action of the piece. But this communication visits two natures radically different from one another. The object in each piece is to trace the development of these two dissimilar characters under similar but utterly abnormal circumstances, and in either play all the parts are toned down and subordinated to this leading idea. In the meditative and philosophic nature of *Hamlet*—accustomed to shape his thoughts and actions by the conclusions of reason—this strange visitation, falling athwart the accustomed way of experience, cuts, so to speak, all ground of assurance from under his feet. The apparition unsettles all his original grounds of certainty, but furnishes him with no other in their place. It

* "The first or enabling condition both for the production and enjoyment of poetry is a mind comparatively at ease. * * This is quite consistent with the fact that some of the most beautiful poetry has been wrung forth by suffering; for it has been written in the intervals of suffering, and the exercise of poetical imagination on it has been itself one of its alleviations. The poets who have so written have not only held

their grief at arm's length, as it were, but have counteracted the pain inherent in it, even when so held, by the pleasure of exercising the energy of imagination. This is true also when applied to acute pleasures. They do not become poetical until they held are at arm's length, and pierced through and through with imaginative thought."

Hodgson's *Theory of Practice*, vol. i, p. 274.

brings perplexity and not conviction, and throws doubt alike on the conclusions of the understanding and the testimony of the senses.

An intellect upset, lost in a bewildering labyrinth of doubt and speculation which paralyses the powers of action, this is the spectacle presented to us in the delineation of Hamlet. In strict keeping with the vacillation generated by incessant self-questioning, the movement of the piece proceeds with the utmost slowness. The repeated solicitings to avenge his father's death do not impel Hamlet to action. They throw him, as it were, back with greater and greater force on the old rocks, against which all his mental powers are fast breaking up and falling into fragments. He turns, wavers, thinks and speculates, seeking again and again for some sure basis for his reason, but finding none.

In *Macbeth*, on the other hand, the supernatural appeal is made to an imagination already inflamed with the lust of power and flushed with success. To Hamlet the world is an unweeded garden, and all its uses stale, flat and unprofitable. To Macbeth it is the all in all. The supernatural visitation which deepens the despondency of Hamlet into scepticism and utter weariness of life, works upon the imagination of the ambitious soldier till his whole being, as it were, is absorbed in one thought. The intellect here is thrown into abeyance; it is the imagination alone which drives him forward, and hence the movement of the play is rapid in the extreme; there is no backward eddy, no deliberation of thought, no weighing of the reasons *pro* and *con*, but one incident hurries after another with unstaying swiftness to the final catastrophe. Coleridge has noted this same unity of development in the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*. "Read *Romeo and Juliet*," he writes; "all is youth and spring—youth with its follies, its virtues and precipitancies; spring with its odours, its flowers, and its transiency; it is one and the same feeling that commences, goes through, and ends the play. The old men, the Capulets and the Montagues, are not common old men; they have an eagerness, a heartiness, a vehemence, the effect of spring; with Romeo, his change of passion, his sudden marriage, and his rash death, are all the effects of youth; whilst in Juliet, love has all that is tender and melancholy in the nightingale, all that is voluptuous in the rose, but it ends with a long deep sigh like the last breeze of an Italian evening."

Now it is just this unity of feeling, this fusing together of a poem into one harmonious whole, which is not only wanting in Persian poetry, but which never seems to have been present to the minds of Persian poets. We write, we acknowledge, without an extensive acquaintance of Persian literature, and there may be poems unknown to us to which our remarks are inapplicable, but they

certainly apply to the works of Ferdausi, Hafiz, Saadi, and Omar Khayam—names deemed to be among the greatest in Persian literature.

The *Shahnamah* cannot in any true sense of the word be styled an epic at all. You may sever it almost where you will, and the separated fragments would remain, with no enhancement perhaps of their original beauty, but assuredly with no diminution. It is simply, as we said before, a rhymed chronicle of fabulous kings, with no coherence of plan whatever, or any inner organic connection. There is not, from beginning to end, so much as an endeavour to delineate character. Rostum, who may in some sort, be considered as the hero of the *Shahnamah*, is no more of a human being, than the iron man in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. He is simply a machine in the form of a man, and possessed of almost unlimited force. At the age of five, he kills with one blow of a club a mad white elephant; when he puts his hand on the backs of the strongest horses, they sink down and roll upon the earth incapable of enduring the pressure. The Divs are his favourite victims. The strongest of these he can seize by the neck, drag from their horses, and dash them to the earth. This, in fact is the Persian's invariable mode of representing perfection in poetry. Ought a hero to be strong? He at once makes him capable of piling Pelion upon Ossa, or eating a crocodile. Ought a lovely damsel to be slender-waisted? We have her depicted forthwith with a waist, the thickness of half a hair. To be in extreme, appears with them to be synonymous with the sublime.

The *Shahnamah* abounds with descriptions of battles, and in these Ferdausi is held to be specially excellent. Many of them are undoubtedly depicted with great spirit, but the absence of the "synthetic and magical power of the imagination" becomes at once apparent, when we compare his highest achievements in this line with those of any great master of song—such for example as Sir Walter Scott. Scott had the *seeing eye* of the true poet; he could discern the particular incident, the particular feature, which gives the predominant feeling to whatever he desired to represent. Hence in his description—say, of Flodden field—there is no endeavour after minuteness of detail, but just a point here and there is seized and brought prominently forward, and all else suggested but not directly indicated. But in Ferdausi, the incidents of a battle-field are catalogued with the minuteness of a price-list; and piled up one atop of another like bricks on a wall. There is no movement, no synthesis; each detail stands out in the immediate foreground, without perspective, or due relation to the rest of the picture, like the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite school of artists. Saadi is a moralist rather than a poet, and the greatest admirer of Persian literature will scarcely care to contend for the greatness

of the *Bostan* as a poem. Hafiz however, is a genuine poet—so far as we know, the sweetest of all Persian poets, and it grieves us to have to say anything seemingly in depreciation of him. There is in his poetry a freshness and a fragrance as of early spring flowers, a careless outpouring of joy as free from any after taste of bitterness, as the carolling of a bird amid the leaves of summer. All problems of life and thought he pushes to one side by a simple reference to Fate, and dwells upon an earth where “no cold moral reigns.” Roses, wine and women—spring, summer and sunshine—these things are all pleasant surely, and “who knoweth, what thing cometh after death.” Such is the beginning, middle and end of Hafiz’s philosophy.

These peculiarities impart an unthinking animation—a sort of soulless delight in life, like that of Undine’s before she knew how to love—which act with a wondrous charm upon the Western mind, burdened with the weight of so many inscrutable mysteries. But in his odes also the synthetic and magical power of the imagination is conspicuous from its absence. They run in couplets, attached by such a slender thread of connection, that they can be arranged in almost any order without injury to the purport of the poem as a whole.

This then is what we intended to mean by the expression that ‘good poetry among the Persians might almost be designated as accidental’—namely that a poem was not regarded by the Persians as something one and organic, to be moulded and developed in accordance with some preconceived idea. Certain things—for example, roses, nightingales, wine, and women with black moles on their cheeks—are considered poetical in so special a sense, that a man who rings the changes on them, writes poetry of necessity. Strong in this conviction, the Persian poets sing out *all* that is in them, careful only for the construction of the verse, and a due garniture of the recognised poetic imagery. Occasionally, as in the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayam, despair at the utter inscrutability of the mystery of life reaches the point of sublimity. But it rises for an instant only from the ordinary level of roses and wine cups, and sinks back with the same rapidity. The poet only hits upon excellence, as it were, by an accident. It is but a passing flash which illuminates the darkness. Sir William Jones’s account of the *Musnavi*—considered by the best judges the finest work in Persian poetry—exactly bears out this conclusion. The *Musnavi*, he says, is a medley of pathos and sublimity, the purest ethics mingled with the grossest obscenity, utter doggerel interspersed with passages of the finest poetry. The criticism is equally applicable to all the Persian poetry with which we are acquainted; and we cannot discover any expression better fitted to mark the character of such a literature than to say that its merits are ‘accidental’—as not being subordinated to any fixed principles of Art.

2. *The matter.*—We now come to the second and most important branch of our inquiry—the comparative merits of English and Persian poetry in the matter of which they are composed. And here at the outset we would deprecate the wrath of Oriental scholars. We have no wish whatever to undervalue the merits of Persian literature or the genius of Persian poets. The inquiry we are about to enter upon, does not touch upon questions of individual merit—whether, for example, Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton are finer poets than Ferdausi, Saadi, and Hafiz; but upon the *substance* of Persian poetry taken as a whole, the elements of which it is composed, and the causes which have moulded them into this shape rather than another. The inquiry is not one in which special pleading is possible. It assumes that the poetry of a nation is one special mode of manifesting the spiritual life of that nation, and endeavours to ascertain the character of that spiritual life in the history of the people. Whatever cogency, therefore, our reasoning may carry with it, depends upon historical facts and not upon personal prepossession.

Some months ago, in the pages of this *Review*, we touched upon a somewhat similar inquiry. We attempted to show how diverse influences acting upon poetic genius, induced at one time that order of poetry known as Dramatic; and at another, Lyrical. In the present paper, our aim will be to show that the education to which the mind of the West has been subjected, has revealed aspects of human nature and evoked a passion and a power unknown in the East, with the inevitable result of producing a literature infinitely profounder in import and wider in scope. We will take the Western world first.

The cardinal doctrines which Christ taught, were the unity and loving nature of God—the divine life in Man—the law of self-sacrifice as the principle that should govern all human relations—the unity of the human race in the bond of one divine and omnipresent Spirit—the redemption of the world from evil, and an immortality beyond the grave. These doctrines were accompanied by a peculiarity in the manner of their inculcation. Christ taught as “one having authority,”—that is, He did not enunciate these propositions after the manner of a philosopher as things which might conceivably be true, but as one speaking of that which he *knew*. He came as a traveller from some distant country, and testified of that which He had seen. And not His words only, but His whole life, He taught His followers to believe, were intended to manifest the eternal life of God, now for the first time in any degree of completeness made known to men. All He did, and all He suffered was a gradual discovery under the conditions of time, of the everlasting relations between God and man. Christ among the Pharisees—Christ associating with publicans and sinners—Christ healing the sick—Christ

setting forth the laws of the unseen world by illustrations drawn from the order, the permanence, and the beauty of nature, was unfolding in a single city and to a single people the laws of that kingdom which it is the will of God to establish throughout the earth. The axe was being laid to the root of the tree; the old world was passing away. In place of the superstitious fears of the unknown world came the revelation of a loving Father who hated nothing that He had made. The precepts of the sermon on the mount struck at the roots of that love of self and worship of power, which had converted the earth into an arena for men to tear down each other like wild beasts. The death upon the cross completed the perfect manifestation of that law of self-sacrifice, which is the source of all human happiness, as self-assertion is the cause of all human ill. Finally, the resurrection and ascension poured a flood of light through the dark portals of the grave, revealing a new and better life beyond, where man, freed from fleshly incumbrances subject to disease and pain, should become wholly a spiritual creature.*

Three years at the most sufficed to root these amazing convictions so deeply in the minds of a few Jewish fishermen, that they went abroad, bent upon no less a purpose than to overthrow the idolatry of the Roman Empire, and—strangest fact of all—they succeeded. "Rome" says Dean Milman, "must be imagined in the vastness and multiformity of its social condition, the mingling and confusion of races, languages, conditions, in order to conceive the slow, imperceptible yet continuous aggressions of Christianity. Amid the affairs of the universal empire, the perpetual revolutions which were constantly calling up new dynasties or new masters over the world, the pomp and state of the imperial palace, the commerce, the business flowing in from all parts of the world, the bustle of the Basilicas or courts of law, the ordinary religious ceremonies or the more splendid ceremonies on signal occasions, which still went on, if with diminishing concourse of worshippers, with their old sumptuousness, magnificence and frequency, the public games, the theatres, the gladiatorial shows, the Lucullan or Apician banquets—Christianity was gradually withdrawing from the heterogeneous mass some of all orders, even slaves out of the vices, the ignorance, the misery, of that corrupted social system. It was ever instilling feelings of humanity yet unknown or coldly commended by an important phi-

* A word or two of explanation is perhaps necessary to justify our apparent assumption of the divinity of Christ and the historical accuracy of the four Gospels, as matters beyond dispute. It is not necessary in an inquiry of this kind to examine the evidences of Christianity—the fact

being indubitable that Jesus Christ was regarded by the Christian world as we have indicated in the text, and our only object being to ascertain—such a belief being given—the manner in which it has affected Western civilization.

losophy, among men and women whose infant ears had been habituated to the shrieks of dying gladiators ; it was giving dignity to minds prostrated by years, almost centuries, of degrading despotism ; it was nurturing purity and modesty of manners in an unspeakable state of depravation ; it was enshrining the marriage-bed in a sanctity long almost entirely lost, and rekindling to a steady warmth the domestic affections ; it was substituting a simple, calm and rational faith and worship for the worn out superstitions of heathenism ; gently establishing in the soul of man the sense of immortality, till it became a natural and inextinguishable part of his moral being." Great as these achievements were, they represent only a very small portion of the work which Christianity began in those days and which she has been carrying on ever since. The battle Christianity has had to fight has been not merely to be accepted as a creed about God, but to have that creed acknowledged in its entirety—admitted to the uttermost limit of its logical issues by the gradual eradication of all prejudices and superstitions which ran counter to its fundamental propositions. This has been the great work of the past eighteen hundred years. Every convulsion in European history, every new birth of human thought, has resulted, consciously or unconsciously, in a better understanding of the teaching of Christ, but the work seems still far from completion.

It is, we are of course aware, customary to divide Christianity into ethics and theology ; and with many people it is also usual to speak of the ethics as productive of much good, and the theology of infinite evil. It is not, however, difficult to show that the ethics are in truth the flowers which spring from the theological root—and which, if severed from their parent stem, would rapidly wither and die. It is the theology of Christianity which has given a sanction to the ethics, and fed them with the sap that has preserved their vitality. It is the Christian theology far more than Christian ethics, which has made the Western world what it is.

Take, by way of example, the doctrines of the unity and love of God. We are apt to think both of these propositions as so consonant to reason that men must accept them so soon as they understand them. In truth, the history of every religion is a refutation of this notion. Men, it would be much truer to say, cannot hold steadfastly to either of these beliefs save in an exceptionally high state of mental culture. There was no trace of either the one belief or the other among the Greeks or the Romans, if we except some of the vague and lofty imaginations which visited the mind of Plato. Among the Jewish people, the unity of God was continually cast aside in favour of the grossest idolatry ; "saying," as Jeremiah complains, "to a stock, Thou art my father, and to a

stone, Thou hast brought me forth." When Christianity appeared in the world, the idolatrous tendencies of men might be said to have attained their climax; and any or every proposition about the powers of the unseen world was eagerly welcomed by numbers of people.

A world thus brought up from childhood in the belief of polytheism, could not lay that belief aside by making a new confession of faith. The gods no longer could dwell in heaven when those unseen regions were filled with the brightness of the God manifest in Christ. But, though deposed from the celestial kingdom, they became the lords of the infernal regions—the princes of the powers of the air,—who divided the possession of the souls of men with the one God. Then, as the years went by, the unity of God itself became a mere doctrinal formula, gifted with little of practical value. A whole hierarchy of saints and angels became the steps of the divine ladder, through the aid of which men ascended into the presence of the Most High. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the middle ages, is to behold this polytheism becoming more and more defined and ingrained, until Martin Luther uttered his tremendous protest against it, and through the fires of persecution and the smoke of the battle-field, conducted men to the foot of the Cross to learn the true nature of that God revealed to them on the hill of Calvary. Even at this day, the horror which so many Christians feel at the idea of every human being without exception being an heiritor of salvation is a convincing proof of the difficulty to admit the logical issues involved in the doctrine of the perfect love of God.

Take again the doctrine of the divine life in man, or, in the words of St. Paul, "the Christ in us." There is no rule of life which men have been so slow to learn as that of the equality of man. The division of the human race into Greeks and Barbarians, into bondmen and free, into Brahmans and Sudras—are alike assertions of a radical difference between man and man—fatal, so long as it continues, to any true brotherhood of spirit. Christ's whole life was a protest against this assertion, and it is easy to see how the doctrine of the "Christ in us" in the old world, and again in the middle ages, struck off the chains of the slave, elevated woman from a degrading servitude, gradually effected the effacement of caste distinctions, and mitigated the severity of persecution. Camille Desmoulins, the noted republican, spoke perhaps a deeper truth than he intended, when in his profane fashion he declared Christ to be the first and greatest of the "sans-culottes."

The doctrine of a divine and omnipresent Spirit uniting all the generations of the world, has gradually broken down the isolation and hostile feelings of separate communities, has sent men abroad to all nations, as pioneers of culture and civilization not less than

as missionaries of religion, has unsealed the inexhaustible fount of charity, and inspired us with a deep and active conviction in the innate greatness of humanity. A system of ethics not based upon and sanctioned by a revelation of God, would have been utterly powerless against the savagery of the middle ages. As a matter of fact, the Christian ethics were hardly obeyed at all. But from the theology of Christ there was no escape. The anguish and misery which they brought upon themselves, drove men by slow degrees to act in some conformity with their deeper convictions—to make some effort to discover the true order of the universe according to the Christian hypothesis.

It is the fact of a continual progression towards truth and freedom which gives to the history of the Western world so profound an interest. Nothing, so to speak, has been lost, but all that men achieved in one age has become the starting point whence the next generation began its race. The goal is still far away in the future, but we discern the dim outline in that one feeling which, under two diverse aspects—now as the enthusiasm of humanity, and now as the passion of love—is the animating all-pervading soul of the lyrical poetry of the nineteenth century. It is the long and weary journey men have had to tread, the sufferings they have endured, the obstacles they have overcome, which have made these convictions of such priceless value, and given to our expression of them such passionate intensity. For every European people has been welded into a nation in the furnace of affliction. The weakness and misery of disunion have only, after centuries of suffering, taught the individual or the class to seek for his or their good in the welfare of the State. And still it seems that the like anguish must be inflicted and endured, before men will see that what is true of the class or the individual is not less true of the nation; that all humanity is indeed and in truth a single organism, where, if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; if one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it. But the poets of a nation are those who can read this "open secret of the Universe"—who can interpret to the multitude "the prophetic soul of the great world dreaming on things to come." It is their intense humanity, their living sympathy with all estates and degrees of men, which have made the names of Byron and Shelley a sort of watch-word to the republicans of the present day. It is his profound sense of the grandeur of human nature, of the one heart endowed with infinite aspirations, and beating alike beneath the garb of the peasant the warrior and the statesman, which will obtain for Wordsworth the prize of immortality. They have interpreted to us the lessons of the past, shaped into language our own dim and speechless thought. But, if Christ had never

lived and died, if He had never taught the theology of Christianity; all these great ideas, to judge from the experience of the old world, could never have become the common heritage of men.

And this, perhaps, is the best answer to those who discredit the divinity of Christ—to bid them ponder on the effects of His life and teaching. Among a people exclusive to the last degree, the son of a carpenter suddenly appears and proclaims a faith "broad and liberal as the casing air." He makes a few journeys between Jerusalem and Galilee, heals a few sick folk, and preaches what he calls the "Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven." He is then seized and executed. This man proves mightier than all that went before him, mightier than all that have come after him. His personality and his teaching win hearts to him, despite of torment or the fear of death, despite of centuries of crime perpetrated in honour of his name. The brightness alone of that pure and perfect presence dispels the thickest darkness, and he becomes, as he predicted that he would, "the Light of the world." All alike, believer or unbeliever, acknowledge Him as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life." He puts down all other gods under His feet; He works the deliverance of the world from evil by convincing men that good is mightier; He transforms love from a mere appetite into a deep well-spring of life, feeding all the springs of moral and intellectual strength; and more than eighteen hundred years after His death, countless hearts are still drawn towards Him with a deep and fervent love, and find His words and His example a perennial fount of inspiration. Finally, it is precisely the doctrines He proclaimed, which have carried our modern bards into regions of thought and speculation inaccessible to the heathen world. They have, so to speak, gathered together all that the great men of Greece and Rome bequeathed to them, and added thereto the humanity and spiritual insight learned in the school of Christ. We will now endeavour to contrast this discipline with the education of the East, or rather Persia. Our inquiry, we must repeat, is an attempt to account for the poetry of the East and the West by an examination of the pre-disposing causes. The inquiry is historical, and excludes us from the assumption of any supernatural causes, such, for example, as Christ's promised gift of the Spirit. No complete and satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of Christianity can, in our judgment, be given, except upon the supposition of some such divine influence; but it is possible to account for the differences between Eastern and Western thought, sufficiently at least for our present purpose, without having recourse to this doctrine.

In estimating the effects of Christianity and Muhammadanism, the first notable problem which attracts the attention is that

both religions insist upon the unity of God and the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. But in the East we find the first doctrine rapidly petrifying into a mere formula, and utterly incapable to check the growth of numberless superstitions radically at variance with it. In the West, we discover the same dogma triumphing slowly, but surely, over the polytheism of the old world, subsequently over the hardly less inveterate idolatry of Catholicism; and becoming century after century more completely a practical guide of thought and conduct. Exactly the same petrification on the one hand and the same quickening on the other, attends the belief in the immortality of the soul in the Eastern and Western worlds. We confess ourselves utterly unable to account for these opposite tendencies, except, as we have said, upon the hypothesis of a power other than the natural capacities of men, operating with a greater degree of enlightenment in the one case than in the other. There are, however, other, but what we should term secondary, causes which may be indicated. No creed can be ever separated from the character of its founder, and there cannot be a greater contrast in this respect than the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, and the Prophet's proclamation of the sword as the supreme arbiter in religious discussion. There was nothing attractive in the aspect under which Christianity was presented for acceptance, or the condition of its first teachers. The demand made on the credulity of those who accepted it was enormous—nothing less than to believe that a carpenter's son who had died the death of a malefactor, had risen from the grave and ascended into Heaven. The whole Faith revolved, so to speak, around these amazing assertions. If they were untrue, the whole religion was a dream and a delusion. The apostle of the Gentiles never shirked this tremendous issue. "If Christ be not risen," he declares in the most unmistakeable language, "then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." Those who asked their fellowmen to accept this belief, presented in their own persons no confirmation of the protecting power of Him whom they preached and worked for. They were hungry and thirsty and naked; buffeted and with no certain dwelling-place; they were made as the filth of the world and the offscouring of all things. It was simply love of Christ, and faith in His Love, as a revelation of the Eternal Life which drew hearts towards him, and inspired them with the heroism to endure, like Him, revilings, torture and death. Thus, the very bond of union which held the nascent churches together, became that feeling which more than any other begets within us the desire of immortality, and the hope of its fruition, while the perils which surrounded them, made them feel by daily experience that here on earth the followers of Christ could look for no continuing city. "My kingdom is not of this world"

became through hard necessity a living conviction in the mind of the Christian hardly less than of his Master.

Far otherwise were the attractions held forth to the young devotee by the religion of the sword. Here the appeal was made to the passions of men. Black-eyed beauties upon earth, if he fought and lived—black-eyed beauties in heaven, if he died—such were the inducements which fired the fanaticism of the Musalman. In Christianity, the entire training was of a character to elevate and bring into prominence the spiritual part of our nature; in the religion of Islam, the gross and the sensual. It is not therefore surprising if the doctrine of an immortal soul became almost a fact of consciousness among the members of the one faith; and but a barren formula among those of the other.

So also with the doctrine of the unity of God. To the Musalman the unity of God was only a statement written in a book. No plank had been flung across to bridge the abyss which separated the human from the divine. "God stood alone in His nature, remote, unapproachable; in His power dominant, through all space and in all time, but divided by a deep and impassable gulf from created things." Consequently, when the first fervour of faith wore away, there returned the old terrible necessity to build up a way to God, through hosts of mediators, who gradually became invested with all the attributes of Divinity. But the revelation accorded to the early Christians was contained in a *life*, and not in a book. The Gospels, it must be remembered, were not even in existence when the apostles went abroad to preach; neither they nor their hearers knew aught but Jesus Christ and Him crucified. The effects of that early teaching have never been lost, and in the One God, Christians have always, with more or less of clearness, perceived the Man of Sorrows, the Lover of children, the Companion of the lost and forsaken, the compassionate Being touched with a feeling for our infirmities.

Many of our readers will perhaps think that we have dwelt at disproportionate length upon the theological tendencies of East and West. But in an inquiry of this nature, it was unavoidable. Men will form to themselves some theory of the unseen world, and, whatever that theory be, it becomes the basis of their life. They may endeavour to rest in a pure negation, after the manner of the Positivists, or in simple indifferentism, as nine-tenths of the men and women about us; but whatever be their mental attitude, it will impart its character to all their thoughts and actions. It is absolutely impossible to conceive of English literature, if purged from the admixture of Christian thought—of a Shakespeare, for example, without one thought of Him, who, "eighteen hundred years ago, was nail'd for our advantage to the bitter cross;"—or a Milton, with no other conception of the celestial beatitudes than

those compatible with black-eyed damsels and flowing cups of wine. The East and the West have reflected in their literature the image of the Rock whence they were hewn, and in so far as Christ was a greater power and more complete a being than the Prophet, in so far at least the poetry of the West must be superior to that of the East. If to this we add the absence of freedom and national life which mark the annals of the East, and the debasing tendencies of a social system which degrades woman into "a soulless toy for tyrant's lust," we shall have said enough to account for the unspiritual and passionless character of Persian poetry. Hafiz is, to our thinking, the best of the Persian poets, but when placed at the bar of comparative criticism, it is impossible to adjudge him a higher place than by the side of Thomas Moore in the hierarchy of poets. He is, in truth, the Thomas Moore of Persia, without the Irishman's love of country and freedom. To produce a Shakespeare or a Milton, or such poets as the lyrists of the present century, the conditions necessary are not to be discovered at any time or in any country in the East. The Persian poet can produce gracefully turned verses in unlimited abundance, but the deeper chambers of human thought he has rarely visited for a moment, and never attempted to explore. There is the same want of spiritual insight in the mysticism of the Sufi writers. They are fanciful rather than imaginative, extravagant rather than inspired. Plato, as for example in the dialogue of *Phædrus*, is a mystic who demands a response from the Unseen to some of the profoundest yearnings of the heart; the Persian Sufi is but a dreamer of dreams, who has given up the quest for truth, and regards not the sufferings of his kind. We do not say this in order to reproach the Oriental. A pure and progressive religion, a great past, the anticipation of a glorious future, the citizenship of a free people, and an enthusiastic recognition of the value of truth, such are the pre-disposing causes which bring the powers of the mind to perfection, and these have never been accorded to the people of Asia. A narrow and exclusive religion, a past swallowed in oblivion, a future involved in hopeless uncertainty, and a present chained to the throne of an alien despotism, such has been the mental atmosphere in which for centuries the Persian has lived and died. What Hafiz or Omar Khayam might have written, had all this been changed, it is idle to inquire. Under the conditions in which they lived, it was simply impossible that they should produce a literature comparable with that of their happier brethren in the West. And any one who studies Persian under the impression that a second Chaucer or Shakespeare is veiled under those graceful characters, will in his heart have to acknowledge himself mistaken, whatever he may assert to the world at large.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HAFIZ.

I.

I said, "O Queen of loveliness,
 Have mercy on a wretch like me!"
 She answer'd, "Love has brought distress
 To many a wretch like thee!"

I said, "Ah stay! and list awhile—"
 She lightly answer'd, "Pardon me,
 The Queen of Love has not one smile
 For such a wretch as thee!"

"The bright ey'd one who lays her head
 To sleep on silk—indifferent she,
 Though thorns and brambles be the bed
 Of such a wretch as thee!"

Ah! what a shrine for love has he
 Whose heart is fetter'd in thy hair!
 Ah, Mole! how blest to dwell like thee
 Upon that face so fair!

Among the lilies of her cheek,
 The transient blushes come and go;
 A wind-toss'd rose-leaf thus might streak
 The jasmine's breast of snow!

I said "The lover's resting place
 Is in the black night of your hair;"
 She turn'd on me her laughing face
 And smil'd at my despair.

"Ah, moon of mine!" I spake again,
 "Hide not that rosy cheek from me,
 Nor plunge my spirit cleft with pain
 In utter misery!"

II.

The happy morn has just begun,
The red wine sparkles like the sun,
No better time than this will be—
Then fill a cup of wine for me !

O prating Preacher ! get you gone ;
Why stand you talking on and on ?
My heart has gone away from me ;
Ah, whither ? Not at least to thee.

Until her lute-like lips impart
Their sweetness to my lips and heart,
The words of all the wise would be
An idle gust of wind to me.

Her waist, I would so fain embrace,
God fashion'd out of empty space ;
A mystery this, that passes show,
Which no created soul can know.

The joys of the eight heavens meet,
About the beggar in her street ;
The prisoner of her charms is free
Of this world and the world to be.

The madness of my love has wrought
A ruin in my mind and thought,
And on that ruin, firm and fast,
My life has its foundations cast.

III.

That lovely one, with fairy face,
Who fled last night from my embrace ;
Alas ! what fault did she discover,
To part in anger from her lover.

Ah ! since those world-illuming eyes
From mine withdrew their sweet replies,
No one the countless tears can tell,
That from my eyes in anguish fell.

Far from that lovely cheek of thine,
For ever from these eyes of mine
The tears flow down ; my heart forlorn
With grief as with a storm is torn.

Whisper'd my heart, " Prayer may obtain,
That we behold her yet again ; "
Ah ! many a day has pass'd away,
Since all my life was but to pray.

Then wherefore should I labour on ?
The altar of my faith is gone ;
Wherefore remain in grief and pain ?
The shrine of prayer comes not again.

But yesterday, beholding me,
Spake the physician mournfully,
" Alas ! the sickness of your heart
" Is far beyond the power of Art ! "

Ah ! my beloved, why delay
To ask of Hafiz, ere they say
That from this shadowy world his shade has pass'd away ?

IV.

With laughing lips and loosen'd hair,
And footsteps light and soft,
With tatter'd garb, and wine-flush'd air,
And a full cup held aloft.

With eyes that sparkled like a flame,
And mouth that music shed,
In the middle of the night she came
And stood beside my bed.

And bending down with gracious tone,
She whisper'd in my ear,
"Ah ! my belov'd heart-stricken one,
Are you a-dreaming here ?"

Traitor to love that man would be,
Who could have put away
The brimming cup of wine, which she
Proffer'd in so sweet way !

Hence, holy man ! and cease to blame
The soul that thirsts for wine ;
When order out of chaos came,
And all this Universal Frame,
He placed the thirst that burns like flame
Into this soul of mine.

Whate'er it be His hand has pour'd
In this our mortal cup ;
Be it the wine of Paradise,
Be it the juice the grape supplies,
Shall we not drink it up ?

Ah ! many a vow which Hafiz made
In moments of despair,
A bright eye flashing in the shade,
A flow of tangled hair,
A laughing lip, a brimming cup,
Have look'd upon and broken up !

V.

We had not gazed our fill upon that face divine,
Ere she departed ;
And from that rosy lip we had not drank the wine,
When she departed.

Like one awearied sorely with company of our's,
So she departed ;
Robbing us of spring-time and the fragrance of the flow'r's,
When she departed.

"Obey me," she had told us, "lest I abandon you,"
Ere she departed ;
We bow'd our heads before her, did all that we could do,
Yet she departed.

In the sweet walks of Beauty, her charming feet were set,
When she departed ;
In the Rose bowers of union, alas ! we never met,
Ere she departed.

She said, "The passionate lover should self-forgetful be,"
Ere she departed ;
With our hearts fixed upon her, what love of self had we ?
Yet she departed.

Her form was as a symbol of God's exceeding grace,
When she departed ;
We had not gazed our fill upon that lovely face,
When she departed.

VI.

Fair art thou from head to feet,
Fair and delicate and sweet,
As a dew-besprinkled rose,
And graceful as the cypress tree in Paradise that grows !

Sweet are those alluring looks,
Learn'd from Love's unwritten books,
Passing sweet thy fond caresses,
And beautiful the shining cheek which gleams beneath thy tresses.

Brilliant are the eyes that glow
Underneath that arching brow ;
Lovelier than the young gazelle
Which passes like a gleam of light across a shaded dell !

In those bowers of deathless roses,
Where a Poet's soul reposes ;
There thy image shining bright,
Illuminates the inner eye with loveliness and light.

Though the anguish and the smart
Like a torrent overwhelm the heart,
Wandering along Love's way,
Yet in the sunshine of thy love my stricken soul is gay !

VII.

The Rose is in the garden, but think not she will stay,
Bring your wine, and bring your sweetheart, ere the bloom has pass'd
away ;
In the cool depths of the garden the crimson goblet glows,
That sign of joy appearing at the bidding of the Rose.

With music and with laughter we pass within the bowers,
Like nightingales we sink on the bosoms of the flowers ;
Quick, Saki, bring the wine ! and where the Roses bloom,
The corpse of old Repentance we will again entomb.

The dawn is veil'd in blushes, the sky is all aglow,
Pour out, my friends, a morning draught, till the goblets overflow !
A gale of heaven breathes from the gardens all in flower,
From her throne of emerald the rose perfumes the bower ;

Upon the tulip's cheek the trembling dew-drops shine,
Bring the wine, my dear companions, bring the wine !
Be like Hafiz and drink kisses ; sweeter none were ever prest
From the ripe lips of a Houri in the Gardens of the Blest.*

R. D. O.

* This translation and the one immediately preceding it, are reprinted from
the *Pioneer*.

SONNETS ON THE WAR.

I.

A CHURCH IN SEDAN AFTER THE BATTLE.

The day is o'er, the battle lost and won,
Fled the hot flush and fury of the fight,
The rushing squadrons and the charge of might,
The thunder-shouts of victory—all are gone.
But whiter than the shapes of sculptured stone
That watch their slumbers, where the pale moon smiles
Thro' yon fair Church's angel-haunted aisles,
Can these be they by whom such deeds were done?
Raise, holy Priest, thy crucifix on high,
Sweet Sister, clasp the sufferers to thy breast,
Moisten the wan lips numb with agony,
And smooth their passage to the realms of rest,
Poor victims of a Despot's fantasy—
How long shall these things vex us, God thrice-blest?

II.

NAPOLEON AT WILHELMSHÖHE.

Self-seeking Shepherd of the innocent sheep
Won to thy sway by fraud ! How just the doom,
That thou shalt sink inglorious to the tomb,
No holy mourners round thy grave to weep,
No good men's tears to sanctify thy sleep !
Yea, for thy Cæsar-forehead girt with bays
Of conquest, thou hast sown dishonoured days,
And nought save Dead-Sea fruit for France to reap.
Because no loftiness of thought endears
Thy visionary glory, based on crime,
O splendid Slave, not Conqueror, of the years !
We hail thy fall, most sad, but not sublime ;
For thou hast missed his rich reward, who wears
The armour of pure Truth, unstained thro' Time.

C. K.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

N^o. CIV.

ART. I.—THE DUKE OF ARGYLL ON THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL.

Supplement to the "Calcutta Gazette" for the 20th July 1870.
Papers connected with the Educational Cess in Bengal.

FEW questions of public interest have arisen of late years possessing such varied phases as that of the education and road cesses. The zemindar can discuss this question in connection with the rights given him by the permanent settlement; the ryot, who has no status worthy of the name allowed him by the law, can yet regard it as one which may possibly affect his lowly, but most important interests; the statesman can expatiate upon it as one which deeply concerns finance and the art of self-government; the economist can view it in its relation to the problem of the re-awakening of the industrial spirit in Bengal after the slumber of ages. It would be absolutely impossible for us to consider the matter in all these, and divers other aspects which we have not mentioned, within the compass of a single article—to do in one paper a work which, if it is to be done properly, would occupy as many papers as it has parts. We shall confine our present essay to only one point, and that is, whether any cess can be imposed upon the zemindars of Bengal consistently with the terms of the permanent settlement. That we have taken up this question for discussion in preference to all others, is simply because we think that, considered logically, this is the question which first demands our attention.

In his late despatch upon this subject, the Duke of Argyll takes a correct view of the mode in which the question of the right to impose cesses upon the zemindars of Bengal ought to be regarded. The Duke says:—

‘Your Government (*i.e.* the Government of India) repeatedly asserts the right of imposing cesses for local purposes, implying that the purpose to which such a tax is devoted affects the question of the right of the Government to impose it. Assuming the right to

impose any given tax, the purpose to which it is applied may make all the difference in these two most important things ; *first*, the reasonableness, or even the justice, of imposing the tax ; and, *secondly*, the possibility of making that reasonableness and justice plain to the people who are to pay it. But, if the right to impose the tax be absolutely denied, on the ground of a binding promise that no such tax should be imposed, then the purposes to which we may intend to devote the money can have no bearing on the question of our right to raise it.' (para. 6.)

Nothing could be more sound than the opinion expressed in this extract ; and we have not the least doubt that if the view here explained had been entertained more generally than seems to be the case, the public controversy regarding the two cesses would have been devoid of half the bitterness that has marked it, and all that tremendous nonsense that has been uttered. It is but too common in our time to hear men talk of 'the development of the material resources of the country,' of 'the abject condition of the ryots,' and of divers other things that constitute the vocabulary of cant in the present age. These men would do well to study closely and carefully the words which we have just quoted, for those words teach us to forbear to be kind, or rather *philanthropic*, at the expense of right and justice. Those who advocate the imposition of cesses upon the zemindars of Bengal, the permanent settlement notwithstanding, on the ground that without such cesses 'the material and intellectual progress of the country' cannot be worked out, seem to us to be men who do not know what true progress means, and how it is to be accomplished. It is a pity that the Government of India has not escaped the vulgar contagion in this respect.

But the Duke of Argyll, however correct his enunciation of the mode of discussing the cess question, has been extremely unhappy in the actual discussion itself. In fact, the Duke's dissertation upon the question of the right to impose cesses is altogether meaningless, in so far as one portion of it apparently contradicts another. In the seventh paragraph of his despatch, the Duke says :—

'The question, whether the Government of India has, or has not, the right to impose taxes upon land in Bengal, even for the general purposes of the empire, has been ruled and decided in the case of the income-tax. And yet that ruling was not, and could not be, arrived at by any mere construing of the words in which the promises of the permanent settlement were made. Those words did not contemplate such a case ; and, to reach the general principles on which that case was ruled, it was necessary to go outside altogether of the four corners of the document in which the permanent settlement is recorded.'

And, again, in paragraph 8 :—

‘But if the question be, whether the right to levy such rates, in addition to the jumma, was contemplated or thought of at the time, I am compelled to believe that no such idea was in the mind of the Government of Lord Cornwallis in 1793.’

Now, in the 9th and 10th paragraphs of his despatch, the Secretary of State expresses himself in the following way :—

‘The great object and purpose of that settlement, as clearly defined and described in Article VI, should govern our interpretation of its terms. That object was, as this Article expresses at length, to put an end for ever to the practice of all former Governments of altering and raising the land-tax from ‘time to time,’ so that the landholder was never sure, for any definite period, what proportion of the total produce of the soil might be exacted by the State. This uncertainty was to be set at rest for ever. The ‘public demand’ was to be fixed and permanent. Such was the promise, and its scope and object were clearly explained in the concluding exhortation addressed to the land owners—that “they would exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands, under the certainty that they would enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management, and that no demand would ever be made upon them or their heirs or successors, by the present or any future Government, *for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates.*”

These last words illustrate the whole force of the argument, which has been admitted to be just in the case of the income-tax. It must be remembered that none of the pleas which, in the correspondence before me, are urged in favour of the right of the Government to levy rates for roads or for education, could have been put forward in favour of the right to impose an income-tax on the landholders of Bengal. The income-tax was not ‘local’ in any sense. It was not applied to special purposes intended for the immediate benefit of the agricultural classes. It was, in the fullest sense of the words, a ‘public demand,’ levied over and above the public demand which, under the permanent settlement, had been fixed ‘for ever.’ It went directly into the imperial exchequer, and was applied precisely as the land revenue and all the imperial taxes were applied. But there is one thing which that tax was not—it was not an increase of the public demand levied upon the zemindars ‘in consequence of the improvement of their estates.’ It was levied upon a wholly different principle and in respect of a wholly different kind of liability. One index and proof of this difference lay in the fact, that, although this ‘public demand’ was made upon those to whom the promises of the permanent settlement had been given, it was made upon them only in company with other classes of the community, and with no exclusive reference to the source from which their income was derived.’

It is clear from this last extract that, in the opinion of the Duke of Argyll, the payment to the State by the land-owning class of a

portion of the rent of the soil is a thing quite distinct from the payment by them of a tax which is levied upon them in company with other classes of the community ; and that, consequently, when a greater portion of the rent of the soil is paid to the State in consequence of any increase in the value of landed property, the payment is of a different kind from the payment of a tax which falls equally upon every class in the community. All this may be true or not, but the question is, whether the distinction set up by the Duke was meant by the authors of the permanent settlement to be embodied in the words of the statute which is declaratory of it. If it be true that the words "in consequence of the improvement of their estates," were really intended by the Legislature of 1793 to be used in the emphatic sense which is ascribed to them by the Duke of Argyll, then there cannot be the slightest doubt that that same Legislature *did* conceive the distinction which seems to the Duke so clear and well-marked. For, unless that distinction is assumed to have been in the mind of the Government of Lord Cornwallis, it is absurd to impute to the words "in consequence of the improvement of their estates" the meaning which is attributed to them by the Secretary of State. A distinctive idea is necessarily an idea which contrasts with some other idea, and is distinctive only in so far as it expresses or implies that contrast. The words, "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates," are supposed by the Duke of Argyll to be expressive of a distinctive idea. If this supposition is correct, it follows, as a matter of course, that the idea which those words are taken to mark off as distinct and specifically different, *was* in the mind of the Government of Lord Cornwallis in 1793. Now, that other idea is no other than the idea of subjecting the zemindars of Bengal to imperial taxes which are levied upon the community in general, or, as the Duke himself says in the eleventh paragraph of his despatch, as being generically the same, the idea of local rates. But we have already quoted a passage from the Duke's despatch, wherein he clearly expresses his belief that the "right to levy such (*i. e.* local) rates, in addition to the jumma, was not contemplated or thought of at the time" of the settlement. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to say whether the words "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" bear any distinctive meaning ; in other words, whether the question of the right to impose cesses upon the zemindars of Bengal has been decided one way or the other.

But we have not exhausted the question so far as the words "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" are concerned. It may be said that these words indicate that the Legislature of 1793 meant only to fix for ever the demand of the State upon the landholders *as landholders*, and that, on

that account, Regulation I of 1793, in which these words occur leaves excuse enough for subjecting the zemindars to a tax which like the income-tax and the proposed education cess, ought to be regarded as a tax imposed upon the landholders, *not as landholders, but as members of the community in general*. But assertions like these, so common at present, ought not to be received as correct without ascertaining whether the authors of the permanent settlement themselves recognized this purely metaphysical distinction; whether, that is, they believed, like the political casuists of our time, that the practice prevailing in Europe (where, be it remarked, nothing like our permanent settlement has ever existed) of taxing the land-owning class in company with other members of the community, does not involve an increase of the public assessment on land. If it be that Lord Cornwallis and his advisers did not, while declaring the permanent settlement of the land revenue, recognize or know of the supposed distinction between taxation and rent-charge, then it must be clear that it would be wrong to take the words "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" in any distinctive sense, and to adjudge taxation to be proper because the distinction is recognized *at present* and is capable of being inferred from those words. The Duke of Argyll, in his despatch under consideration, has referred to the education cess in the North-Western Provinces and to the Bombay Act III of 1869, as good precedents for imposing local rates in Bengal. But it seems to us that no modern examples can be followed so long as the question remains undecided, whether the Legislature of 1793 intended that the permanent settlement of the land revenue should not preclude the imposition of local rates or general taxes.

We are ourselves of opinion that no cess can be imposed on the zemindars of Bengal, whether separately from, or in company with, the rest of the community, consistently with the terms of the permanent settlement, and we shall state some of the reasons which induce us to reject the arbitrary dictum pronounced by the Secretary of State.

I. The great object of Regulation I of 1793 is the settlement of the public revenue from land. The object of Regulation II of 1819 is "the resumption of the revenue of lands held free of assessment under illegal or invalid tenures," and is, therefore, materially the same as that of Regulation I of 1793. Now, it is a well-known rule in the construction of Statutes, that Acts of the Legislature which relate to the same subject-matter are to be regarded as one statute. It has been ruled in *R. v. Loxdale*,* that "when there are different statutes *in pari materia*, though made at

* 1. Burr. 447.

different times, or even expired, and not referring to each other, they shall be taken and *construed together* as one system, and as explanatory of each other." Regulation I of 1793, Regulation II of 1819, and several other regulations which we need not mention at present, which constitute the great code of the permanent settlement, might thus, we think, be justly regarded as explanatory of each other. Now, in the preamble to Regulation II of 1819, we find the following expressions:—

'It further appears to be necessary, in order to obviate all misapprehension on the part of the public officers, or of individuals, to declare generally the right of Government to assess all lands which, at the period of the decennial settlement, were not included within the limit of an estate for which a settlement was concluded with the owners, not being lands for which a distinct settlement may have been made since the above period, nor lands held free of assessment under a valid or legal title; and, at the same time, formally to renounce all claim on the part of Government to additional revenue from lands which were included within the limits of estates for which a permanent settlement has been concluded at the period when such settlement was so concluded, whether on the plea of error or fraud, or on any pretext whatever, saving, of course, *meahls* expressly excluded from the operation of the settlement.'

The words "on any pretext whatever" are extremely comprehensive; they cannot admit of any exception, limitation or *distinction*. And they occur in a statute which forms part of the great code of settlement—a code of which Regulation I of 1793 itself is a part. It seems to us, then, having regard to the rule of construction quoted above, that any doubtful or contested passage in either of these two statutes ought to be interpreted by the aid of any clear and unambiguous expression in the other. Now Regulation I of 1793 says that "the public assessment" on land shall not be increased "in consequence of the improvement of estates," whilst Regulation II of 1819 declares that the public assessment shall not be increased "on any pretext whatever." Of these two expressions, the former, it cannot be denied, is liable to misconstruction, but the latter is as clear as any human language could well be. Besides, the words "on any pretext whatever," as implying "*any conceivable cause whatever*," ought justly to supersede the words "in consequence, &c.," which indicate only *one* out of *many* conceivable causes. We are then, we think, entitled to substitute for the words "in consequence, &c." the words "on any pretext whatever," without thereby curtailing the import of Regulation I of 1793. And, this substitution made, it cannot be urged with any show of reason that the words displaced were intended by the Legislature to be expressive of any distinction, exception or limitation.

But the particular expression "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" yet remains to be accounted for, for we cannot plead intentional prolixity on the part of the Legislature of 1793. The passage where that expression occurs, stands as follows :—

'The Governor-General in Council trusts that the proprietors of land, sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever, will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands, under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management and industry, and that no demand will ever be made upon them, or their heirs or successors, by the present or any future Government, for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates.'

Lord Cornwallis, it is clear, intended by these words to encourage the landholders of Bengal in the cultivation and improvement of their estates, alleging, as his reason for so doing, that the fruits of increased cultivation and improvement would be enjoyed by themselves and themselves alone. It was not, it is manifest, the object of the Legislature in this passage to describe the nature of the permanent settlement—its legal character and fiscal scope. The object was simply to exhort the zemindars of Bengal to improve their estates, and it is only natural to expect that an exhortation to improvement, contained in a charter guaranteeing fixity of assessment, should conclude with the words "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates." It is the nature of the exhortation, and not any intention to lay down any distinguishing principle, that best accounts for words, which, taken in a plain common-sense fashion, would seem to be perfectly devoid of any such magic as the Duke of Argyll would fain perceive in them.

II. It may possibly be urged that the words "on any pretext whatever," found in Regulation II of 1819, are not inconsistent with the supposition, that the settlement of 1793 had reference only to the right of taxing the rent of the soil, and not to the right of taxing the land-owning class in company with the rest of the community; that all that the Legislature meant to say was, that it was only the portion of the rent of the soil reserved at the time of the settlement which was not to be increased "on any pretext whatever." This argument seems at first sight to be logically vicious as involving the well-known fallacy of *petitio principii*—a fallacy which is mostly resorted to by idle dogmatists and self-sufficient opinionists. And a careful study of the literature of the permanent settlement will, we venture to think, convince everybody that what at first sight seems to be an error in procedure is also an error upon the merits.

The question to be determined is, not whether there is any radical distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, but whether the Legislature of 1793, whilst fixing the public assessment upon land, intended that the zemindars of Bengal should be subjected to any general public burden which any future Government might think it necessary to impose in consequence of any exigencies of the State. The answer to this question, whatever it be, will also be an answer to the question, whether any cesses can be imposed upon the zemindars of Bengal ; for, as the Duke of Argyll himself would say, a tax which, like the income-tax of 1860, has its origin in great public exigencies, is, so far as the question of its consistency or otherwise with the terms of the permanent settlement is concerned, the same in principle as a local cess. Now it is particularly worthy of remark that the question whether the zemindars of Bengal should or should not be subjected to any future general burdens after a permanent assessment of the land revenue, was distinctly raised at the time when the plan of a permanent settlement was under the consideration of the Government of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Shore, in his minute of the 8th December 1789, says : —

‘ But the perpetuity of assessment is qualified by Mr. Law by the introduction of a clause, that the proprietors of mokurruree tenures shall be subject to a proportion of a general addition, when required by the exigencies of government.’

And Mr. Francis, in a letter addressed by him to Lord Cornwallis, on the 6th March 1789, states Mr. Law’s proposal to have been

‘ that the land revenue of the whole of the Company’s territorial possessions in Bengal, Behar and Orissa (exclusive of land exempted from the payment of public revenue, and tracts of waste land not annexed to any existing villages) be fixed once for ever, subject only to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of government.’

It is thus indisputable that the question of taxing the landholders of Bengal in company with other classes of the community was raised by a distinguished servant of the East India Company, in a clause which was evidently intended by him for insertion in the statute which was to proclaim to the country the perpetual settlement of its land revenue. It is also clear that Lord Cornwallis and his able coadjutors were aware of the proposal made by Mr. Law, the Collector of Behar. And it is necessary to add that that proposal was carefully discussed by the members of the Government of Lord Cornwallis, as succeeding extracts from the minute and the letter cited above will abundantly prove. Under these circumstances, is it not natural to enquire what became of the proposal made by Mr. Law—of the clause embodyt

ing that proposal? The clause is not to be found in any one of the Bengal regulations. Is it not natural, therefore, to conclude that the Legislature of 1793 must have rejected it as being repugnant to the principle of a fixed and permanent assessment? We hope it will not be pleaded, as it has been pleaded in the matter of the Seditious Language Bill, that the absence of the clause was owing to oversight. The documents that have come down to us, relative to the debates, discussions and enquiries which took place previous to the declaration of the perpetual assessment, prove most clearly that carelessness was not one of the faults of the Government of Lord Cornwallis. On the contrary, we find the noble Marquis fully impressed with the necessity of exercising the utmost caution in shaping a measure which was to bind his own and all succeeding Governments. And the Court of Directors, in their revenue general letter of the 19th of September 1792, sent certain injunctions to their Governor-General, the perusal of which must convince every sober-minded man that to plead oversight as the cause of the absence of the clause proposed by Mr. Law from the code of the settlement, would be to make a statement at once most unwarranted and unjust. We reproduce the injunctions below :—

‘In order to leave no room for our intentions being at any time misunderstood,” said the Court of Directors, “*we direct you to be accurate in the terms in which your determination is announced; and you will be careful to have it translated and circulated in the same manner as you have directed with respect to your own code of regulations. Having left it to your discretion to decide on the measures to be adopted relative to the waste lands, you will of course determine whether any reserve should be made in this declaration with a view to that object; and you will, in a particular manner, be cautious so to express yourselves as to leave no ambiguity as to our right to interfere, from time to time as it may be necessary, for the protection of the ryots and subordinate landholders; it being our intention, in the whole of this measure, effectually to limit our own demands, but not to depart from our inherent right as sovereigns, of being the guardians and protectors of every class of persons living under our Government. We are not aware that we have omitted a determination upon any article necessary, or important, to your procedure to this last step;*” and we shall be happy that Lord Cornwallis, who has done so much in this arduous work, see no reason to deny himself the happiness of announcing a new constitution to so many millions of the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain.’

After this, it would surely be the very height of impertinence to argue that anything worthy of consideration was overlooked by the Government of Lord Cornwallis.

* All the italics in this extract are ours.

The introduction of the clause proposed by Mr. Law, was strongly opposed by Mr. Shore, who thus expressed himself in his minute of 8th December 1789 :—

‘But the perpetuity of assessment is qualified by Mr. Law by the introduction of a clause, that the proprietors of mokurruree tenures shall be subjected to a proportion of a general addition, when required by the exigencies of government. This qualification is, in fact, a subversion of the fundamental principle; for, the exigencies not being defined, a Government may interpret the conditions according to its own sense of them; and the same reasons which suggest an addition to the assessment may perpetuate the enhancement. The explanation given by Mr. Law to this objection is, that temporary extraordinaries must have temporary resources, and even the land at home is liable to a general tax during war; but the land-tax in England does not bear a proportion of nine-tenths to the income of the proprietor.

Notwithstanding the explanation, I shall consider the qualifying clause as either nugatory or pernicious, and as standing in direct contradiction to the principle of a mokurruree settlement. The very term implies an unalterable assessment. * * * I deem the proposition of mokurruree settlement subject to an increase upon exigency, a solecism; and that permanency must be given up, or the clause be withdrawn.’

Here, then, is the ablest member of the Government of Lord Cornwallis recording in the clearest of words his opinion, that taxing the zemindar in company with the other classes of the community is nothing more or less than increasing the public assesment upon land. And, if we assume for the sake of argument that Lord Cornwallis was of a different opinion, that, in short, he believed that taxing the zemindar was not the same as increasing the assessed jumma—then it must be conceded that the sentiments expressed by Mr. Shore amounted to a *misconstruction* of the scheme proposed by the Governor-General. But Mr. Shore was not an ordinary man. He had a large share in the administration of the country, and his talents, which were of a very high order, were the admiration of Lord Cornwallis and the Court of Directors. That the opinions of such a man could have been disregarded by Lord Cornwallis or the Court of Directors, it is impossible for us to believe. It is, therefore, most natural to expect that we should find in Article VII, Regulation I of 1793, some reservation of the power of taxing the zemindars of Bengal in company with the rest of the community—a power which, according to Mr. Shore, could not survive a fixed and perpetual assessment of the land revenue. That Article was introduced specially for the purpose of preventing any “*misconstruction*” of the first six Articles in which the permanent settlement had been announced—for the purpose, that is, of making a distinct declaration of the rights which Government had

reserved in connection with the permanent settlement, and which seemed to Lord Cornwallis and the Court of Directors likely to be disputed in after times, if not sufficiently explained. That this was the object of the seventh Article, will appear most clearly from its opening words, which are as follows :—

‘To prevent any *misconstruction* of the foregoing Articles, the Governor-General in Council thinks it necessary to make the following declarations to the zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land.’

When, therefore, we consider that the Collector of Behar had proposed the insertion of a clause, reserving, in the clearest of words, the power of “subjecting the zemindars to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government,” and that so great a man as Mr. Shore had opposed that clause as being inconsistent with the idea of a fixed and perpetual assessment, we cannot help thinking that, if Lord Cornwallis himself had thought differently from Mr. Shore, Mr. Law’s clause would have been inserted in an Article which had for its object a distinct and specific enumeration of the rights which were intended to be reserved by Government, and which were likely to be contested in after times. A prudent administrator like Lord Cornwallis, carrying out a measure which he knew, more perhaps than any other man, to be of the greatest importance to the country, and ordered by his official superiors to carry it out with great caution and extreme technical precision, would not certainly have neglected to insert in an Article which he introduced for the sole purpose of preventing any future *misconstruction*, a clause, the omission of which, considering the objections taken to it by so able an officer as Mr. Shore, must have appeared to him likely to cause that very *misconstruction* which he was so anxious to avoid. If the question of subjecting the zemindars of Bengal to general taxes had not been raised at the time when the scope and limits of the permanent assessment were under discussion, then, certainly, there might have been some grounds, however fallacious, for alleging that the absence of any such clause as was proposed by Mr. Law does not prove that Regulation I of 1793 precludes the imposition of taxes upon the land-owning class. But seeing, as we do, that the question was distinctly raised at the time, we cannot help inferring from the absence of the clause from the Article which is devoted to a distinct enumeration of the rights which were intended to be reserved by Government, that the clause must have been rejected.

But although the identical clause is absent, it may be that there is something equivalent to it in some one of the five clauses which make up Article VII of Regulation I of 1793. We will therefore examine these clauses one by one.

Clause I stands as follows :—

‘It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of the people, and more particularly those who, from their situation, are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil; and no zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land, shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay.’

We have already seen that, according to the Duke of Argyll, the Government of Lord Cornwallis simply intended by these words to reserve the right of “regulating and limiting the power of the zemindars over their tenantry.” Mr. Campbell, too, in his essay on the *System of Land Tenure in India*,* concludes his account of the specific limitations prescribed by the early Regulation law to the power of the zemindars over their tenantry by quoting this very clause with the following remark :—

‘In addition to these specific provisions, there was the general provision often quoted, reserving a power of future interference in behalf of the inferior holders.’

This makes it perfectly clear that Mr. Campbell agrees with the Secretary of State in thinking that the clause under consideration has reference only to the power of regulating the relation between the zemindar and his tenant. And the two following extracts, of which the first is from a minute of Lord Cornwallis, dated the 3rd February 1790, and the second from the revenue general letter of the Court of Directors, dated 19th September 1792, leave no doubt as to the correctness of this interpretation :—

‘In order to simplify the demand of the landholder upon the ryot, or cultivator of the soil, we must begin with fixing the demand of Government upon the former. * * * Some interference is undoubtedly necessary on the part of Government for effecting an adjustment of the demands of the zemindars on the ryots.’

‘We therefore wish to have it distinctly understood, that while we confirm to the landholders the possession of the districts which they now hold, and subject only to the revenue now settled, and while we disclaim any interference with respect to the situation of the ryots or the sums paid by them, with any view to an addition of revenue to ourselves; we expressly reserve the right which clearly belongs to us, as sovereigns, of interposing our authority in making, from time to time, all such regulations as may be necessary to prevent the ryots being improperly disturbed in their possession, or loaded with unwarrantable exactions.’

* *Systems of Land Tenure*, published by the Cobden Club, p. 174.

on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. 183

That these views were intended by the Court of Directors to be embodied in the settlement proclamation (Regulation I of 1793), is proved most clearly by the following words, which occur in the concluding part of their letter:—

‘We are not aware that we have omitted a determination upon any article necessary, or important, to your procedure to this last step.’

Clause 2, Article VII, of Regulation I of 1793 runs as follows:—

‘The Governor-General in Council having, on the 28th July 1790, directed the sayer collections to be abolished, a full compensation was granted to the proprietors of land for the loss of revenue sustained by them in consequence of this abolition; and he now declares that, if he should hereafter think it proper to re-establish the sayer collections, or any other internal duties, and to appoint officers on the part of Government to collect them, no proprietor of land will be admitted to any participation thereof, or be entitled to make any claim for remissions of assessment on that account.’

To any one acquainted with the plain English meaning of plain English words this clause will, no doubt, seem to be utterly devoid of any such expression as might be construed into a reservation of the power of subjecting the zemindars of Bengal “to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government.” And we should not certainly have put our readers to the trouble of perusing this clause, had it not been that the *Indian Daily News* has quoted it, and quoted it with all the emphasis of italics more than half-a-dozen times, with a view to prove that Lord Cornwallis did not mean to exclude the zemindars of Bengal from any general tax or local rate which any future Government might think it necessary to impose. The words “or any other internal duties” have been pointed out with an air of triumph as being comprehensive enough in their meaning to imply local cesses of the kind about to be imposed upon the zemindars of Bengal. We need not enter into a historical disquisition on the subject of internal duties, as they existed in this country prior to the assumption of the Dewanny by the East India Company, in order to show that the meaning which has been ascribed to the words “internal duties” is radically false. We think that the following short extract from the minute of Lord Cornwallis, dated 3rd February 1790, will satisfy everybody that by the words “internal duties” the Government of Lord Cornwallis meant nothing more or less than *inland transit duties*.

‘Further benefits,’ says Lord Cornwallis, ‘are to be derived from this arrangement, when the amount of the internal duties, the rates by which they are levied, and the *articles subject to the payment of them*, are ascertained.’

Surely one must go the length of saying that men can be regarded as articles of traffic, in order to be able to urge that the Legislature, having reserved the right of imposing *internal duties*, has consequently reserved the right of imposing cesses upon zemindars. But there are words in the clause itself which prove most conclusively that nothing could be more absurd than the meaning which it has been attempted to deduce from it. The words "*re-establish* the sayer collections, or any other internal duties," make it perfectly clear that, unless local cesses of the kind proposed to be levied can be proved to have existed under the Muhammadan sovereigns of Bengal, it would be to ignore the plain meaning of the word '*re-establish*,' to argue that "*internal duties*" can be interpreted to mean local rates. It would be absurd to talk of *re-establishing* anything which never before existed. The words "no proprietor of land will be admitted to any *participation* thereof" are also fatal to the view we are discussing. If it be true that the Government of Lord Cornwallis, in using the words "*internal duties*," reserved to itself a power comprehensive enough to justify the imposition of a road cess or an education cess, then it must be admitted that never did legislative wisdom give expression to an idea more exquisitely absurd than is met with in the clause under consideration. For what could exceed the absurdity of a declaration made by Lord Cornwallis, not to *participate* with the zemindars of Bengal the proceeds of taxes levied upon those very persons? Could any but a maniac ever think it necessary to make such a declaration? It is clear, then, that nothing like a right of imposing cesses upon the zemindars of Bengal was reserved in the clause under notice.

It is unnecessary to discuss the remaining clauses of this Article, as there is nothing in any one of them which is at all capable of being construed into a reservation of the right of subjecting the zemindars of Bengal to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government.

The inference, then, which we have drawn from the absence of the clause proposed by Mr. Law from Article VII Regulation I of 1793, remains unshaken and uninjured. The following considerations will, we think, prove it to be perfectly unassailable.

III. We have already stated that, even supposing the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge to be true, the real question to be solved in deciding whether a cess upon the landholders of Bengal would or would not be inconsistent with the terms of the permanent settlement, is, whether that distinction was known to, or recognized by, the celebrated men who concluded that measure. And the reason why we consider this enquiry to be essential is simply this: It is a fact, which it is rather distasteful to state because of its truism, that everything on this earth

has a history or progressive development. The science of political economy is one of the creations of man, and, consequently, it can no more be said of this than of any other achievement of the human mind, that it has had no history or progressive development. There was a time when gold alone was regarded as wealth. The world has seen men who considered the exportation of gold to be destructive of national prosperity, and men who denounced the importation of corn as a crime. There have been philosophers who regarded agriculture as the only source of opulence, and statesmen who protected monopolies and fixed the prices of goods. The growth of economical ideas is as much a work of time as the growth of any other ideas, whether political or scientific. And no one seems to be more fully convinced of this truth than the great John Stuart Mill, the strongest advocate of the rent-charge doctrine. In the preface to his *Political Economy*, that eminent writer says:—

‘It appears to the present writer that a work similar in its object and general conception to that of Adam Smith, but adapted to the more extended knowledge and improved ideas of the present age, is the kind of contribution which political economy at present requires. The *Wealth of Nations* is in many parts obsolete, and in all imperfect. Political economy, properly so called, has grown up almost from infancy since the time of Adam Smith; and the philosophy of society, from which practically that eminent thinker never separated his more peculiar theme, though still in a very early stage of its progress, has advanced many steps beyond the point at which he left it.’

Under these circumstances, a truly conscientious man cannot dispose of the question, whether any taxes can be levied upon the zemindars of Bengal consistently with the terms of the permanent settlement, without enquiring into the history of what, for the sake of convenience, we have called the doctrine of rent-charge. Now it must be borne in mind that Lord Cornwallis and his advisers, who are assumed by the advocates of the cesses to have made a distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, settled the land revenue of Bengal in the year 1793, just seventeen years after the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*—a work which was the first of its kind in Europe, and which, according to Mr. Mill, “is in many parts obsolete and in all imperfect,” that is to say, at a time when economic science was in its extreme infancy. It is not sufficient, therefore, to assume the correctness of the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, but it must be ascertained whether that distinction, in itself not very easily perceivable, was known at a time when economic ideas are admitted to have been few in number and full of error.

It is necessary, for the purposes of our enquiry, to understand clearly what rent-charge means, and how it is distinguished from

a tax. Mr. J. S. Mill satisfies us on these points in the following words:—

“These observations are applicable to a land tax only in so far as it is a peculiar tax, and not when it is merely a mode of levying from the landlords the equivalent of what is taken from other classes. In France, for example, there are peculiar taxes on other kinds of property and income (the *mobilier* and the *patente*) and supposing the land tax to be not more than equivalent to these, there would be no ground for contending that the State had reserved to itself a rent-charge on the land. But wherever and in so far as income derived from land is prescriptively subject to a deduction for public purposes, beyond the rate of taxation levied on other incomes, the surplus is not properly taxation, but a share of the property in the soil reserved by the State. In this country there are no peculiar taxes on other classes, corresponding to, or intended to countervail, the land-tax. The whole of it, therefore, is not taxation but rent-charge, and is as if the State had retained, not a portion of the rent, but a portion of the land. It is no more a burthen on the landlord than the share of one joint-tenant is a burden on the other. The landlords are entitled to no compensation for it, nor have they any claim to its being allowed for as part of their taxes. Its continuance on the existing footing is no infringement of the principle of equal taxation.”*

Assuming the opinion delivered in this passage to be correct, the substance of it may be stated in four propositions, as follows:—

1st.—A rent-charge is a portion of the rent of the soil reserved by the State on the ground of its being joint-proprietor of the land with the land-owning class.

2nd.—A tax on the land-owning class is to be understood to be a rent-charge when there is nothing equivalent to it levied on the other classes of the community.

3rd.—A rent-charge cannot be called an *unequal* tax on the ground of there not being any tax equivalent to it levied upon other than landholders.

4th.—A rent-charge cannot be considered as a burden upon the land.

It is not necessary, for the purposes of the enquiry which we have undertaken, to discuss the first two propositions, which involve abstruse historical and juridical considerations. But assuming a rent-charge to be what it is defined to be by Mr. Mill, we cannot help feeling the last two propositions to be not only correct but necessary and self-evident corollaries. The principle, for instance, of equality of taxation means that the subjects of a State “ought to contribute towards the support of the Government, as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively

* *Principles of Political Economy*, Book v, ch. ii, sec. 6.

enjoy under the protection of the State." Now, what the State takes in the shape of a rent-charge, is, according to Mr. Mill, not the property of any individual landholder, but the property of the State regarded as a landholder. The principle, therefore, of equality of taxation is wholly out of place in a discussion upon the amount of a rent-charge. For a principle, which applies only to a taxation of *private* property cannot apply strictly and without qualification to the taking by the State of what belongs to itself. Conversely, it must appear clearly that to judge of a rent-charge by the principle of equality of taxation, would be to judge of it as a *true tax upon private property*, and consequently to ignore the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge. The land-tax in England, according to Mr. Mill, in the passage quoted above, is only a rent-charge and not a tax, and the sudder jumma of Bengal is said, in another part of his work on Political Economy,* to be similar in its character to the English land-tax. But Mr. Mill's idea, it should be obvious, is of no use whatever in deciding the cess question, inasmuch as Mr. Mill is not a contemporary of Lord Cornwallis and his able co-adjutors. The man whose opinions must have guided the authors of our permanent settlement is Adam Smith, for the only systematic and authoritative work on Political Economy which existed in Europe till the beginning of the nineteenth century was the *Wealth of Nations*. It is, therefore, most necessary and pertinent to enquire what view has been taken of the English land-tax by the father of economic science. Now, in Book V, Chapter II, Article I, of his *Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith says:—

'A land-tax which, like that of Great Britain, is assessed upon each district according to a certain invariable canon, though it should be equal at the time of its first establishment, necessarily becomes unequal in process of time, according to the unequal degrees of improvement or neglect in the cultivation of the different parts of the country. In England the valuation according to which the different counties and parishes were assessed to the land-tax by the 4th of William and Mary was very unequal, even at its first establishment. This tax, therefore, so far offends against the first of the four maxims above mentioned, (i.e., the principle of equality of taxation). It is perfectly agreeable to the other three.'

We have only to read carefully the definition which Adam Smith gives of the principle of equality of taxation, in order to be convinced that that eminent writer regarded the English land-tax not as a portion of the rent of the soil belonging to the State in its capacity of joint-proprietor of land with the landowning class, but as a true tax upon private property. The definition says that taxes are to be levied upon the subjects of a State "in proportion

* *Principles of Political Economy*, Book. v, ch ii, sec. 6.

to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State." The words "the revenue which they respectively enjoy" cannot mean anything else than "private property," as a man cannot enjoy what does not belong to him. Adam Smith, then, by saying that the English land-tax offends against the principle of equality of taxation, which requires that the subjects of a State should be taxed "in proportion to the revenue which they enjoy under its protection," must be admitted to have regarded the *entire* rent collected by the landlords of England as their exclusive private property, and the tax imposed upon it as a tax upon private property. That the view for which we are contending is the correct view, will appear still more clearly from the following considerations.

Dr. Smith begins his chapter upon taxes by saying, that "the private revenue of individuals arises ultimately from three different sources—rent, profit and wages," and that "every tax must finally be paid from some one or other of those different sorts of revenue, or from all of them indifferently." He then explains his four principles of taxation, and subjoins to that explanation his dissertation, in four distinct articles, upon "taxes upon rent," "taxes upon profit," "taxes upon the wages of labour," and "taxes which fall indifferently upon every different species of revenue." Now, in explaining the principle of equality of taxation, Dr. Smith says:—

'Every tax, it must be observed once for all, which falls finally upon one only of the three sorts of revenue abovementioned (viz., rent, profit and wages,) is necessarily unequal in so far as it does not affect the other two. In the following examination of different taxes, I shall seldom take much further notice of this sort of inequality, but shall, in most cases, confine my observations to that inequality which is occasioned by a particular tax falling unequally upon that particular sort of private revenue which is affected by it.'

Although, therefore, the sentence which we have italicised, or anything like it, does not occur in his article upon the land-tax, still Dr. Smith seems, from the wording of that sentence, to authorize us to take it as inserted in that article, in case the land-tax of England or of any other country is found to be without a countervailing tax on other than landholders. Now, what does that sentence mean? It means that anything which is taken from the proprietors of land in addition to what they pay in common with the remainder of the community, is taken unjustly, because it is taken in violation of the principle of equality of taxation. Now, what is Mr. Mill's definition of a rent-charge? It is this—"But wherever and in so far as income derived from land is prescriptively subject to a deduction for public purposes *beyond the rate*

of taxation levied on other incomes, the surplus is not properly taxation, but a share of the property in the soil reserved by the State." But is not this surplus obtained at the sacrifice of the principle of equality of taxation? Mr. Mill says NO,—for "he thinks that the land-tax of England implies "no infringement of the principle of equal taxation." Now, is not the very "surplus," which Mr. Mill calls "a share of the property in the soil reserved by the State," and which seems to him to imply "no infringement of the principle of equal taxation," condemned by Adam Smith as an unjust exaction on the ground that it *does* imply an infringement of the principle of equal taxation? "Every tax upon the rent of land," says Adam Smith, "in so far as it does not affect profit and wages, is an unequal tax." "Every tax upon the rent of land," says Mr. Mill, "in so far as it does not affect profit and wages, is a rent-charge and cannot be condemned as an unequal tax." Could opinions ever be more hostile to each other than these of Smith and Mill? Is it possible to believe that Adam Smith regarded the land-tax of England, or of any other country of the globe, as a rent-charge and not as a true tax? Surely, it would be monstrous to hold that the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, of which so much has been made in our age, was recognized by our ancestors in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Nor does it appear that this distinction was conceived till a very late era in the nineteenth century. Mr. Ricardo, writing about the year 1819, says:—

'A land tax may be proportioned to the quality of the land and the abundance of its produce, and then it differs in no respect from tithes; or it may be a fixed tax per acre on all land cultivated, whatever its quality may be. A land-tax of this latter description would be a very unequal tax, and would be contrary to one of the four maxims with regard to taxes in general, to which, according to Adam Smith, all taxes should conform.*

A writer who condemns the land-tax on the ground of its violating "one of the four maxims with regard to taxes in general," cannot be understood to have regarded it as a rent-charge. Evidently, he considered it to be a true tax.

But further. Mr. Ricardo, replying to certain objections made by the great French economist, M. Say, to the fixed character of the English land-tax, says:—

'The English Government has held no such language as M. Say has supposed. It did not promise to exempt the agricultural class and their successors from all future taxation, and to raise the further supplies which the State might require from the other classes of society;

* *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, second edition, chap. xii, p. 212.

it said only, "In this mode we will no further *burthen* the land, but we retain to ourselves the most perfect liberty of making you pay, under some other form, your full quota to the future exigencies of the State."*

These words prove in various ways that their writer regarded the English land-tax as a true tax, but we will point out only one. Mr. Ricardo says that the land-tax is one mode of *burthening* the land. Mr. Mill, as we have already seen, says, that "it is no more a burthen on the landlord than the share of one joint-tenant is a burthen on the other." If, then, Mr. Ricardo had thought with Mr. Mill that the land-tax was only a share in the profits of the soil belonging to the State as a joint-proprietor of land with the land-owning class, he would not have spoken of it as a *burthen* on the landlord. The connexion between Mr. Mill's premises and his conclusion is too clear to be lost sight of by any but the veriest dullard.

We need not trace any further the history of Mr. Mill's rent-charge doctrine. It is sufficient that it was not propounded at any time between 1776 and 1820, for the date of the permanent settlement is intermediate between those two epochs. But it is not altogether unnecessary for us to enquire whether Lord Cornwallis and his advisers were wiser men than Adam Smith and Ricardo, as many amongst us would have us believe. We have already seen that Mr. Shore, one of the ablest members of the Government of Lord Cornwallis, considered any future taxation of the zemindars of Bengal to be inconsistent with the meaning of a fixed assessment, thereby indicating in the clearest manner possible that he regarded the land-tax of this country as a true tax and not as a rent-charge in the sense in which Mr. Mill takes it. The same opinion was entertained by another distinguished officer of the East India Company, Mr. Francis, who, in his letter to Lord Cornwallis, dated the 6th March 1789, thus remarked on the proposal made by Mr. Law to fix once for ever the land revenue of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, "subject only to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government":—

'If certainty be the only requisite in taxation, perhaps it (*i.e.*, a fixed assessment subject to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government) is; though the unlimited power of *increase*, when required by undefined exigencies, renders even this disputable.'

It is clear, then, that, according to Mr. Francis, subjecting the zemindars to taxes was the same thing as *increasing* the

* *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, second edition, chap. xii, pp. 221—222.

public assessment upon land. The word "increase," which occurs in this extract, cannot but mean "increase of the jumma assessed upon the land." But, if Mr. Francis had believed, like some modern theorists, that the land-tax of Bengal was something radically distinct from a true tax, he could not possibly have regarded the imposition of taxes upon our zemindars in the light of an increase of the public assessment upon land. The Duke of Argyll, who considers the land-tax of Bengal to be only a rent-charge in Mr. Mill's acceptation of that term, does not say that the imposition of an education cess upon the zemindars of Bengal would be tantamount to an increase of the public assessment upon land. Thus, the *expounder* of the permanent settlement takes the land-tax of Bengal in a sense radically different from that in which it was taken by one of the *authors* of that celebrated measure. Nor did Lord Cornwallis himself differ in opinion from his able colleagues, as is proved most clearly by the following extract from his minute of the 3rd February 1790 * :—

‘ By reserving the collection of the internal duties on commerce, Government may at all times appropriate to itself a share of the accumulating wealth of its subjects, without their being sensible of it. *The burden will also be more equally distributed ; at present the whole weight rests upon the landholders and cultivators of the soil, whereas, the merchants and inhabitants of the cities and towns, the proprietors of rent-free lands, and, in general, all persons not employed in the cultivation of the lands paying revenue to Government, contribute but little in proportion to their means, to the exigencies of the State.*†

It is manifest from these words that Lord Cornwallis considered the land-tax of Bengal to be an *unequal* tax, because there was nothing equivalent to it levied upon those who were not proprietors of land. Now we have already seen that, according to Mr. Mill, a land-tax, which is of the nature of a rent-charge, and not of a true tax, *cannot possibly be condemned as an unequal tax upon landholders*, on the ground of there not being any equivalent tax levied upon the other classes of the community. And contrast, if you like, the sentiment of Lord Cornwallis, that the land-tax of Bengal was an unjust and unequal burden upon the proprietors of land, with the opinion expressed by Mr. Mill, that, "in Bengal, where the State, though entitled to the whole rent of the land, gave away one-tenth of it to individuals, retaining the other nine-tenths, those nine-tenths cannot be regarded as an unequal and unjust tax on the grantees of the tenth"‡ ; and say whether Lord Cornwallis thought, like Mr. Mill, that the land-tax of Bengal was only a rent-charge and not a tax. If, indeed, Lord

* App. to the Fifth Report, p. 624.

† The italics are ours.

‡ *Political Economy*, Book. v, ch. ii, sec. 6.

Cornwallis had regarded the land-tax of Bengal as only a rent-charge reserved by the State as a joint-proprietor of land with the landholders, he would, instead of calling it an unequal impost which required to be counterbalanced by increased charges upon merchants, traders and the like, have considered *the little that was contributed by these latter* as an unequal payment. Moreover, the land-tax of Bengal seemed to Lord Cornwallis to be a *weight* upon the zemindars. But could it have appeared to him as a weight upon the zemindars, if he had understood it to be only a portion of the rent of the soil belonging to the State as a joint-proprietor of land with those by whom it was paid? Even Mr. Mill would answer this question in the negative. We are precluded then from saying that Lord Cornwallis regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a rent-charge. We cannot help believing that the land-tax of Bengal was considered by the framer of the permanent settlement to be a veritable tax.

Before drawing from the proposition which we have just established the inferences which we are entitled to deduce from it, we think it proper to make the following observations. Adam Smith, though he considered a tax upon land which did not affect any other source of income, as an unjust and unequal impost, was still of opinion that the proprietors of land ought to be taxed more largely than any other class of men. "Both ground-rents and the ordinary rent of land," says that eminent thinker, "are a species of revenue which the owner, in many cases, enjoys without any care or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him in order to defray the expenses of the State, no discouragement will thereby be given to any sort of industry. Ground-rents, and the ordinary rent of land are, therefore, perhaps the species of revenue which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them."* This doctrine has been strongly assailed by Mr. Ricardo,† on the ground that it is inconsistent with the maxim of equality of taxation—a fresh proof that Ricardo did not think, like Mr. Mill, that a peculiar tax upon land was perfectly unexceptionable. But, in deference to the teachings of the generality of economists and statesmen, we would concede, as a matter of equity and good policy, but not, as Mr. Mill says, of justice, that landholders ought to contribute more largely to the expenses of the State than any other class of the community. Now, it is particularly worthy of remark that the land-tax of Lord Cornwallis was a tax of 90 per cent on the entire rent derived from land at that time—not a very light tax certainly, and and one which Adam Smith himself, notwith-

* M'Culloch's Adam Smith, Book v, ch. ii, art. i, p. 380.

† *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, second ed., ch. xiv.

standing his advocacy of peculiar charges upon land, would have condemned as exorbitant and oppressive. Lord Cornwallis on his part was perfectly aware that he had assessed the landholders of Bengal with unusual severity, and we, perhaps, cannot realize to ourselves the severity of that assessment better than by considering that, even if the profit allowed to the zemindar by Lord Cornwallis is taken to have increased, on an average, five-fold* in the seventy-seven years that have elapsed since the date of the settlement, the land-tax is still a tax of no less than sixty-four per cent on the entire rent collected by the zemindars. Surely, a 64 per cent land-tax, not to speak of a tax of 90 per cent, is a far heavier charge upon land than has at any time existed in any other part of the world.

Knowing then, as we do, that Lord Cornwallis regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a true tax, we ought to ask ourselves whether, in fixing the assessment upon land at a rate which he admitted to be unusually high and oppressive, it could have been his intention to empower future Governments to impose additional taxes upon men who seemed to him to be groaning under burdens at once most unjust and unequal. We ought not to rest satisfied without enquiring whether the administrator, who evinced an ardent solicitude to equalize the burdens of the zemindars by laying additional charges upon all who were not proprietors of land, did intend to invest future Governments with the power of imposing fresh burdens upon those very men who were the special objects of his pity and commiseration. Now, we find that Mr. Shore, in his minute of the 8th December 1789, objected, *1stly*, to notifying to the land-holders that the decennial settlement would be made perpetual; *2ndly*, to making any settlement *perpetual*; *3rdly*, to retaining the clause proposed by Mr. Law, and, *4thly*, to taking into the hands of Government the collection of the internal duties on commerce. Lord Cornwallis, it is particularly worthy of remark, wrote his minute of the 3rd of February 1790 with the sole purpose of refuting such of these objections as appeared to him untenable. After saying that there was no harm in notifying to the land-holders that the decennial settlement would be made perpetual, and that such a notification had been accordingly made in "the several collectorships of Behar and in the collectorship of Midnapore in Orissa," the noble Marquis observes as follows:—

* This assumption does not seem to be much below the mark. Babu Rajendralala Mitra, in a letter to the Magistrate of the 24 Pergunnahs, published in the *Indian Daily News* of 2nd September 1868, and re-published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 20th July 1870, proves that it would be

rather too much to say that the profits of the zemindars have, on an average, increased five-fold. We are not prepared to accept the Babu's statement as conclusive; but that it is not altogether without some force is clear from the fact that the Lieutenant-Governor has treated it as correct

'I now come to the two remaining points on which I have differed from Mr. Shore, and the final decision regarding which must rest with the Honorable Court of Directors, viz., the expediency of declaring the decennial settlement permanent, and appointing officers on the part of Government to collect the internal duties on commerce.'

Lord Cornwallis does not state that he differed from Mr. Shore in thinking that the clause proposed by Mr. Law was objectionable, and that is conclusive proof that he was opposed to the retention of that clause. The man, who entertained so much respect for the opinions of Mr. Shore as to think it necessary to refer to the Court of Directors every point upon which he happened to differ from him, would not have passed over in silence the objections made by Mr. Shore to the taxation clause proposed by Mr. Law, unless he had agreed with the former in thinking that the clause was inconsistent with the meaning of a fixed and perpetual assessment.

It is now only necessary for us to make three observations: The *first* is, that the fact of Lord Cornwallis having regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a true tax completely breaks down the argument that the settlement of 1793, having reference only to the claim possessed by the State as a joint-proprietor of land with the zemindars to a portion of the rent of the soil, places the question of taxation on an independent footing. The *second* is, that the failure of this argument, considered in connection with the history of the clause proposed by Mr. Law, proves beyond all manner of doubt that it was never the intention of the Government of Lord Cornwallis that the zemindars should at any future time be subjected to any general tax or special cess. And the *third* is, that, apart from the considerations furnished by the history of the rent-charge doctrine, the mere omission of the clause proposed by Mr. Law from Article VII, Regulation I of 1793, after it had been strenuously opposed by two such men as Mr. Shore and Mr. Francis, proves most clearly that the idea of future taxation was rejected by Lord Cornwallis.

We will now discuss briefly the philosophy of the doctrine of rent-charge. Such a discussion is not strictly necessary for the purposes of this essay; but it will not, we think, be altogether irrelevant in this place.

Mr. Mill thinks that "wherever and in so far as income derived from land is prescriptively subject to a deduction for public purposes, beyond the rate of taxation levied on other incomes, the surplus is not properly taxation, but a share of the property in the soil reserved by the State." That the *surplus* might be regarded as a "share of the property in the soil reserved by the State" cannot be questioned; but the point to be determined is, whether any construction which we might possibly

put upon any old custom or usage would express its real meaning and intention. Modern scholars have attempted to prove that the *Iliad* of Homer is a great allegory, but the attempt has been ridiculed by eminent men of letters* as being in the highest degree distasteful and absurd. And why? Simply because it implies the re-placing of the simple and natural inspiration of the ancients by the pompous but metaphysical scholarship of the moderns. The educated Bengali, versed in the literature and philosophy of the West, detects in the injunctions of Hindu superstition a consummate knowledge of all those sciences, physical and metaphysical, which have sprung up in Europe only since the commencement of the eighteenth century. The absurdity of all such attempts is nothing more or less than the absurdity of making the creatures of one era creatures of another and a wholly different era. And something like this absurdity is implied in Mr. Mill's doctrine of rent-charge. For when Mr. Mill says that wherever land is prescriptively subject to peculiar burdens, those peculiar burdens are to be regarded as a rent-charge, he not only ignores the vast diversities in the origin and character of social and political institutions, but virtually asserts that the ancients, who imposed those burdens, imposed them with a full knowledge of Adam Smith's principle of equal taxation, that, in fact, our oldest ancestors were perfect masters of the peculiarly modern sciences of finance and political economy. But it behoves us to consider that political institutions, in the early stages of society, owe their origin not so much to the influence of intellectual ideas as to the influence of selfish passions and external circumstances. It is true that in most Asiatic countries, and in India amongst others, the land has been regarded from very remote times as the principal source of public revenue; but that circumstance in itself furnishes no ground for supposing that our Aryan ancestors, who lived a life not very dissimilar to that of the denizens of the backwoods of America, thought like the metaphysical free-thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that the earth is the peculiar property of the public, and that whoever takes more land than is actually necessary for his bare subsistence, takes it subject to a public lien. On the contrary, it seems to us more rational to believe that the financial systems of primæval communities were determined solely by a consideration of the principal sources of wealth existing in those times, than that the abstract metaphysical ideas of the present age had any share in their formation. India, till a very recent period, was a purely agricultural country, and its population consisted

* See W. H. Prescott's Essay on Cervantes.

almost entirely of husbandmen. Even now, when the influence of English commerce has been felt for nearly a century, the agricultural classes form the great majority of the population of this country. Under these circumstances, it seems to be far more reasonable to believe that the heavy and almost exclusive charges upon land in this country were owing solely to the fact that agriculture was the only source of wealth possessed by our ancestors, than to credit the simple Hindu of the pre-historic age with the financial wisdom of a Patterson and the economic conceptions of a Mill. Mr. Mill, indeed, says that a tax upon land is to be regarded as a rent-charge when "there are no peculiar taxes on other classes corresponding to or intended to countervail the land-tax." But this doctrine, besides being of a purely metaphysical character, seems to be entirely inapplicable in a country like India, where, it would not be too much to say, none other than agricultural classes have ever existed. The traders and shop-keepers, who constituted an infinitesimal portion of the population, *did* contribute to the expenses of the State. Their contribution was indeed very small. But when it is considered that agriculture was the principal source of wealth in ancient India, and the source of wealth to almost every individual in the community, it is impossible to resist the conviction that trading as a source of wealth was practically ignored, and the traders themselves regarded by the State as men who were unfit to bear the burden of public expenditure. That they were taxed at all, rather proves that a sort of nominal equality was sought to be established in the matter of taxation, sufficient to satisfy the rough sense of justice entertained by primitive and semi-civilized communities.

It might be argued with some degree of plausibility that the land-tax in England is not a true tax, but only a rent-charge. And the reason is that, according to the principles of feudalism, the kings of England were the only true proprietors of land. In India, however, except in some of the Rajputana States, nothing like the feudal system ever existed, nor did the Muhammadan conquerors of the country declare themselves lords of the soil.* But instead of discussing for ourselves whether the soil of India was the property of its sovereigns or not, it would, we think, be of some use to know how those Englishmen who concluded the permanent settlement, solved this

* In making this remark, we do not mean to say that the zemindars were the true proprietors of land. On the contrary, we think that the zemindar's claim to be considered as the real landlord to the absolute exclusion of the cultivator is most

unfounded and unreasonable. The greatest mistake committed by Lord Cornwallis was, not that he regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a true tax, but that he invested the zemindar with a right which was not exclusively his own.

question. A single extract, at this stage of our essay, will be, we think, sufficient. We accordingly quote the following words from a note added to Mr. Francis's minute of the 22nd January 1776 :—

‘The inheritable quality of the lands is alone sufficient to prove that they are the property of the zemindars, talookdars and others, to whom they have descended by a long course of inheritance. The right of the sovereign is founded on conquest, by which he succeeds only to the state of the conquered prince ; unless, in the first instance, he resolves to appropriate or transfer all private property, by an act of power, in virtue of his conquest. So barbarous an idea is equally inconsistent with the manners and policy of the British nation. When the Moguls conquered Bengal, there is no mention, in any historical account, that they dispossessed the zemindars of their lands, though it is frequently observed that where they voluntarily came in and submitted to the new Government, they were received with marks of honour, and that means were used to gain and secure their attachment. Only two motives could have induced the conqueror to such an act of violence as changing the property of the land : favour or money. In the first case his followers and companions claiming their share in his success would have been most likely to obtain possession of the lands, and some traces of their descendants would be found at present. If money had been his object, the Musalman historians would have made mention of the sums so acquired, as they carefully and pompously mention the value of all acquisitions made by their kings or generals.’

After all, we feel no hesitation in saying that practical and conscientious statesmen ought not to adopt any financial measure in this country on the strength of the distinction which Mr. Mill has drawn between a tax and a rent-charge. To do so would be to give effect to a theory of which the least that can be said is, that it is under any circumstances questionable ; and becomes peculiarly doubtful in its application to a country like India, the history of which, to use the language of an eminent judge of the High Court,* “notoriously rests upon most imperfect materials.”

We fear we have been guilty almost of sacrilege in presuming to question the correctness of a theory which has for its advocate England's greatest living thinker. And, certainly, we should have shrunk from what must appear to everybody as a perilous attempt, had it not been that Mr. Mill, by allowing many of his economic speculations to be influenced by his extreme democratic sympathies, has necessarily, though most unwittingly, deprived the former of that value and force which would undoubtedly have belonged to them, had they been a purely scientific interpretation of social phenomena. Everybody knows into what extra-

* See Mr. Justice Phear's decision in the great Rent Case.

vagance Mr. M'Culloch has been led by his partial fondness for aristocratic principles in his advocacy of the law of primogeniture; and we think that those who have studied carefully Mr. Mill's defence of *la petite culture* and the French law of inheritance, will not think that what we have said regarding his failing as a philosopher is altogether erroneous. Science, which is based upon fact and history, must lose all its value and distinctive character if it is made to subserve political purposes.

IV. We trust we have proved to the satisfaction of our readers that the distinction between a tax and a rent-charge, upon which the Secretary of State for India has based his order for the imposition of local cesses upon the zemindars of Bengal, was not known to the authors of the permanent settlement. We have also found that neither the clause proposed by Mr. Law, nor anything expressive of its meaning, was introduced into Regulation I of 1793. We will now ask the reader to peruse the following extract from the preamble to Regulation XXVII of 1793 :—

'Experience having at length proved that prohibitory orders for preventing oppression were not attended with the desired effect, it was determined, on the 11th June 1790, to take from the landholders the power of imposing and collecting duties altogether, and to exercise this privilege immediately and exclusively on the part of Government. The consequences of this measure were expected to be the effectual abolition of many vexatious duties on articles of internal manufacture and consumption, as well as on exports and imports, the suppression of many petty monopolies and exclusive privileges which had been secretly continued to the great prejudice of the lower orders of people, and as the natural effects of the reform of these abuses, benefit to trade, and ease to the inhabitants of the country in general. *A further consequence expected from the exercise of this privilege was a future opportunity of augmenting the public revenue in case the exigencies of Government should render it indispensably necessary, without increasing the assessment on the land.*' *

These are the sentiments of the Government of Lord Cornwallis—the very same Government which effected the permanent settlement. Now, the words just quoted, although they do not expressly forbid the imposition of taxes upon the zemindars of Bengal, bear a constructive signification which is peculiarly decisive on that point. Mr. Law, as we have seen, proposed "that the land revenue of the whole of the Company's territorial possessions in Bengal, Behar and Orissa be fixed once for ever, subject only to a proportionate general addition when required by the exigencies of Government." But this proposal was not adopted. And now we find Lord Cornwallis himself providing in one of his own regulations, almost in the terms employed by

* The italics are ours.

Mr. Law, for the future necessities of the State. Mr. Law proposed that the zemindars should be subjected to general taxes, if required "by the *exigencies of Government*;" Lord Cornwallis provides for an augmentation of the public revenue "in case the *exigencies of Government* should render it indispensably necessary." Whatever be the nature of the provision made by Lord Cornwallis, it is perfectly clear that he has provided for the same thing for which Mr. Law drew up his taxation-clause; that his provision is identical in purpose with the proposal made by Mr. Law. Mr. Law's clause cannot be found in any one of the regulations of the Bengal Code, but the very same contingency which that clause was intended to meet has been provided for by Lord Cornwallis. If then the provision made by Lord Cornwallis be found to be different from the plan suggested by Mr. Law, should we not be perfectly justified in saying that Lord Cornwallis's provision absolutely precludes the imposition of taxes upon the zemindars, which was the measure proposed by Mr. Law? Should we not, at least, be justified in presuming that the idea of taxing the zemindars did not recommend itself to the man who regarded the land-tax of Bengal as an unequal, unjust and oppressive burden on the land-owning class? It would seem that a mind, free, in an ordinary measure, from sophistry, could come to no other conclusion than this. Now what is the particular provision made by Lord Cornwallis? It is not that the zemindars should be subjected to general taxes, but that the duties on commerce and internal traffic should be imposed and collected by Government itself. If then we recollect that Lord Cornwallis regarded the land-tax of Bengal as a veritable tax, and that he fixed that tax at a rate which he himself felt to be exorbitant and oppressive, the making of this *particular* provision for the supply of future administrative necessities, to the exclusion of the clause proposed by Mr. Law, will appear to be an estoppel in the way of our asserting that it was the intention of the noble framer of the permanent settlement that the zemindars of Bengal should be subjected to any future general burdens of the empire. That this was not his intention, is also proved by his minute of 3rd February 1790, and the preamble to Regulation XXIII of 1793, to which we beg to refer our readers.

Although the Duke of Argyll has decided the cess question in a manner which amounts to a virtual abrogation of the permanent settlement, he is, it must be allowed, perfectly unconscious of the extent to which he has gone, and is apparently of opinion that it would be a gross breach of faith to interfere in any way with a measure to which Lord Cornwallis gave a promise of perpetual adherence. There are, however, those who think that a fixed and permanent assessment is bad in principle.

and politically void. This doctrine strikes at the root of the most formidable difficulty in the way of imposing any tax or cess upon the zemindars of Bengal ; and, although not maintained by the Duke of Argyll or any one of the Governments which are subordinate to him, it is yet, we think, deserving of mention on the present occasion. It is said that a perpetual assessment is bad in principle because it may injure the interests of the public by preventing the State from taxing the increasing wealth of its subjects for useful or necessary purposes, and politically void not only because no Government has power to bind all succeeding Governments, but also because it amounts, as Mr. Thornton says,* to ordaining that, "on the occurrence of any extraordinary circumstances of difficulty or danger the State should be dissolved." Of these objections, the one first stated seems to us to be deserving of some consideration ; the others are of little moment. But without entering into any disquisition which must necessarily be too long for the tail of an article, we will prove by quotations from the writings of men who must be regarded as the very highest authorities on questions like this, that there is no great weight even in the objection that a permanent assessment is bad in principle because it prevents the State from availing itself of the increasing wealth of the community. Mr. M'Culloch, in his chapter on the "Government, Revenue and Commerce of India," contained in his Supplemental Notes and Dissertations, in his edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, makes the following remark :—

'It should be observed in treating of these matters, that the principles involved in the perpetual settlement are one thing, while the mode in which they are introduced is another and a totally different thing. The former, which we incline to think were unexceptionable, fixed at once and for ever the Government demand upon the land ; and supposing Government had dealt directly with the cultivators, without the intervention of middle-men or zemindars, this fixedness of the public demand could not fail, had it been reasonable, to have been an immense boon to the occupiers, that is, to the great bulk of the population.

* * *

The only objection worth notice that can be made to the limitation of the assessment on land, proceeds on the assumption that it may be injurious to the public interests by cutting off Government from all participation in that increased value of the land, which may be expected to result from the construction of railways and other improved means of communication, and so forth. But it will not prevent Government from participating in the greater wealth of the cultivators. According as their circumstances improve, so will their consumption of foreign and other articles be extended ; and by subjecting these to a well-devised system of taxation, a far larger amount of revenue will be

* See Thornton's *History of British India*, vol. ii, p. 525.

realized than it is at all probable would be realized from a mere increase of the assessment on land."

The greatest of Scotch economists is clearly of opinion that a perpetual settlement, though it may be liable to objection when it assumes any one form in preference to any other, is entirely right in principle. And we could not, we think, have a more authoritative enunciation of this doctrine than is furnished by the following words of Edmund Burke, found in a letter written by him to his son on the subject of the perpetual settlement of Bengal, and quoted by Mr. Harington with perfect approbation in his excellent *Analysis of the Bengal Regulations* :—*

'The idea of forcing everything to an artificial equality has something at first view very captivating in it. It has all the appearance imaginable of justice and good order; and very many persons, without any sort of practical purpose have been led to adopt such schemes, and pursue them with great earnestness and warmth. I am, for one, entirely satisfied that the inequality which grows out of the nature of things by time, custom, succession, accumulation, permutation, and improvement of property, is much nearer that true equality which is the foundation of equity and just policy than anything that could be contrived by the tricks and devices of human skill. What does it amount to, but that, after some little jumbling, some men have better estates than others? I am certain that when the financial system is but tolerably planned, it will catch property in spite of all its doublings; and, sooner or later, those who have most will pay most; and this is the effective equality which circumstances will bring about themselves, if they are left to their own operation.'

The statement that a permanent assessment is null and void, because it amounts to ordaining that, on the occurrence of any great financial difficulty, the State should be dissolved, is theoretically unexceptionable. But it is particularly worthy of notice that there are many things which look very specious in theory, but imply little or nothing when they are considered from a practical point of view. The land is only one out of a thousand different sources of public revenue, and certainly it does not sound very plausible to say that, if the State were to fix the assessment on land, it would be decreeing its own dissolution. There was a time when the land was almost the only source of the public revenue of England; it is now the source of only "a fiftieth of the ordinary revenue required in time of peace"!† It would not, we think, be too much to say that the administration of England would not feel the slightest difficulty or inconvenience, if the land in that country were henceforth exempted from all taxation whatever. The land, too, was once the only considerable

* See vol. ii, p. 194.

land, People's Edition, vol. iii, p.

† See Macaulay's *History of Eng-* 383.

source of public revenue in India. It still retains its importance, but the revenue it yields is now only a fourth of the entire revenue of the State. And, if we only consider that India has yet to learn to be industrious—that she has yet to know what commerce and manufactures mean—it will be seen that our Government can never be jeopardised by fixing the land revenue for ever. The theoretical objection to a perpetual settlement seems to be devoid of all practical force.

Lastly, whether any particular Government has or has not the power to bind all succeeding Governments, is a question which, notwithstanding the importance assigned to it by a writer in the *Westminster Review*,* seems to us to be of a very trivial nature. There are instances, besides that which is furnished by the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, where Governments have been seen to declare that their enactments shall subsist to the end of time. Edward III passed a law forbidding his subjects to send abroad any staple goods, “under penalty of death and confiscation,” and further enacting “that the law should be unalterable either by himself or his successors.” The English land-tax has been rendered permanent by 38 Geo. III, and the land revenue of Belgium has been recently settled once for all. These are only instances of permanent legislation, and are by no means cited by us with a view of claiming absolute immunity for the permanent settlement of Bengal. We quote these cases only to show that the permanent settlement is not a measure unique of its kind—that it has had its legislative analogies in some of the most civilized countries of Europe,—a fact, the disregard of which has of late produced a good deal of flippant criticism. As to the doctrine that no Government has power to bind all succeeding Governments, we would simply state that, taken by itself, it furnishes no reason for abrogating a law. It seems to us that a law cannot be altered or abolished simply because the Government which passed it, declared that it would be observed not only by itself but by all those Governments which might succeed it. We can imagine a measure which the Legislature intended to be permanent in its duration and which at the same time is based upon some immutable principle of natural justice. It would certainly be a dangerous mistake to alter or repeal such a law, on the ground that the Government which passed it had no power to bind its successors. On the other hand, we do not hesitate to say that a mere legislative guarantee of permanence is no reason for maintaining a law which has become repugnant to the existing order of things. It must, we think, be conceded by everybody that, if any measure to which a pledge of permanence has been given by any particular Government,

* See Number, for July 1870, Art. *Indian Taxation—Lord Cornwallis's Land Settlement.*

requires to be altered or abolished, in consequence of the inevitable wants of society, it would be simply impossible to observe the pledge, because the will of a few men of finite intelligence, possessing only a factitious and conventional authority, cannot withstand the irresistible tide of progress. Lord Cornwallis, indeed, has declared his assessment to be fixed and perpetual; but should that assessment be found to be an obstacle in the way of satisfying the demand of a population of forty millions of men for knowledge and social emancipation, who will not exclaim—Let the assessment be set aside? So long as the permanent settlement does us no injury, it would surely be unjust to call for its abrogation simply because it is a *permanent* settlement. The moment it becomes a national grievance, it will have lived out its normal and legitimate term of existence, and no logic will then be necessary to argue it into death. Whether the permanent settlement *has* become a national evil or not, is a question which it is not for us to discuss in this place. It is a very grave question, and one which cannot be considered too carefully. It has not yet, however, been formally taken up either by the public or by the Government for discussion, and, therefore, no case has been, up to this time, made out for the imposition of taxes upon the zemindars of Bengal.

C. N. BOSE.

NOTE.—Although we are unable to agree in all the writer's conclusions, the above paper is so well-written, and so ably expresses a view of the cess question which the Blue Book lately published shows to be still held by high authorities even in England, that we should not feel justified in refusing it a place in a Review which is admittedly open to all shades of opinion. It seems to us, moreover, that, in the discussion of large questions of public policy like that under notice, the opinion of educated native gentlemen is always entitled to a respectful hearing.—
ED., *Calcutta Review*.

IN MEMORIAM.

ANOTHER light gone out on Glory's steep,
 Another lofty chieftain sunk to rest—
 Reft from our gaze, he sleeps his last long sleep,
 In that fair land his ruling wisdom blest.

And we behold him, sanctified by death,
 A soldier-statesman of heroic type,
 Round whose grand brows fair gleamed the golden wreath
 Of mellow forethought and experience ripe.

True to himself, his country, and his God,
 Wearing high Thought's white armour, free from blame,
 Thro' storms of war and toils of peace he trod,
 With no uncertain steps, th' ascent of Fame.

No sager counsel CHATHAM did unfold
 Than his grave utterance in the Hall of State;
 No calmer courage thrilled the Knights of old
 Than fired the heart that glowed at GHUZNEE'S gate.

So, when his praise waxed loud from shore to shore,
 The long-tried champion of the public weal,
 Well might his foemen of the days of yore
 Welcome the Ruler worthy of their steel!

Peace to his memory! Nor shall Time refuse
 His place among the great in that proud land;
 Rich by his true life-service, nor the Muse
 Grudge the green laurel to her own DURAND.

C. K.

ART. II.—CHRISTIANITY AND THE BRAHMA SAMAJ.

1. *The Brahma Samaj*. Four Lectures by Keshub Chunder Sen ; with preface by Sophia Collett. London. 1870.
2. *An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent*. By J. H. Newman, D.D., of the Oratory.
3. *A Plea for Indian Missions*. By Alexander Forbes, Esq., late Editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*. 1865.

THE encouraging reception given to Babu Keshub Chunder Sen in England is certainly remarkable as a sign of the times. He was welcomed as an ally of Christianity, and actually dubbed (much, we presume, to his own astonishment) pioneer of our creed in India. Yet, there is absolutely nothing new in his philosophical Unitarianism, except that it was preached by an Indian. Even the Babu's style and language remind one at once of Theodore Parker, while the whole current and colour of his ideas are Western, without any tinge of having been strained through an Asiatic imagination. It must be conjectured that the re-appearance, after so many centuries, of a wise man from the East may have stimulated the jaded fancies of English theologians.

Of course it is not hard to see why the Brahminist met with sympathy and patronage from that growing section of Protestants, to whom all dogmas and mysterious antique doctrines are more or less stumbling-blocks, to be softened down or recently pushed aside. Nevertheless we are still surprised that even the English Broad Church should expect any gain to Christianity in this country by fraternizing with this mild and misty theism. We shall even be alarmed if the alliance be cemented or only encouraged by the English in India. For we believe that the cause of missionary evangelization must be infinitely damaged and discredited by any such unnatural confederation. And we desire now to draw attention to this view of the question, because we think that the mere fact of the Babu having obtained such flattering notice from high dignitaries of the Anglican Church points to the weak side in our modern Protestant attitude toward heathendom. It is plain that, in a crusade against hostile creeds, everything depends on our countenance before the enemy, and on the position which we take up when going into action.

Let us look at one of Keshub Chunder Sen's latest lectures—*On the Future Church of India*—and try to discover whether his ideas and teaching give any promise of help to us, or even of internal life and growth. Our prophet rises superior to the "gross materialism" of ancient religions; he would "go

out into the vast cathedral of nature and join the ever rising chorus of creation praising its Creator"; he would harmonize all systems of worship into the general adoration of One God; "tedious articles of faith and elaborate dogmas" will be reduced to a "simple belief" in God's goodness, &c. &c. As a specimen of this latter process, he explains that the primary and essential element of Hinduism is the quiet contemplation of God, while that of the Muhammadan faith is active service of Him. Eliminate all the overlying superstitions, refine down all concrete beliefs, extract and blend the two essences, and there you have the future creed of all India, warranted to stand the climate and to suit all Indian constitutions. The Indian of hereafter is to be a perfect compound of profound devotion and heroic enthusiasm. For although the lines upon which his future Church is planned seem cosmopolitan enough, yet the Brahmist stipulates that it shall be thoroughly national. "India shall sing the glory of the Supreme Lord with Indian voice and Indian accompaniments"—a metaphor that might provoke a smile, if we were in jesting mood.

Now, we have no right to criticise harshly these intellectual exertions, which are evidently written in earnest by one whose imitative faculties have been stimulated by English education. But when such men as Dr. Stanley at home take up Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen as a *harbinger* of Christianity; and when Dr. Norman Macleod expounds in Calcutta regarding the Indian Church of the future, that it will surely be a purely Indian Church, and not a reproduction of any of the established churches of the West; then we feel bound to protest that they are doing serious harm to the cause of Gospel propagation which they pretend to be trying to promote. If they do not think that British Protestantism (Episcopalian or Presbyterian) is ever likely to suit India as a national creed, they are probably right; but then would it not be as well to say this plainly to the well-meaning subscribers of the £250,000 which is paid annually, as we are informed, for the Protestant conversion of India? The deliberate advice of leading churchmen and theologians upon such a matter would have immense effect. For at present all kinds of other reasons are given to account for the comparative failure of our exertions; whereas it would really seem as if after all we were not quite clear as to what we may be aiming at, or how much we shall be contented with; as if there were a lurking inclination to hedge on Brahmsism as a good make-shift, or *pis aller*, upon which religious reformers may fall back when they despair of winning with Christianity. If this kind of half-measure be the object, then our Broad Churchmen are at least logical. But we are convinced that it is the greatest possible delusion to hope that Brahmsism can act in any manner

as a stepping-stone or half-way* house between paganism and Christianity. On the contrary, we are certain that any encouragement given to its vague, though eloquent, teachings does only exaggerate and intensify the very defects which have now for a century made Protestant missions so barren of fruits.

For, let any one consider closely the nature and complexion of religions which have encompassed the hearts of great nations, and let him review historically their origin and progress; he will perceive that a faith which contains mere pious fervent sentiments and high moral doctrines has never, *as such*, taken hold of an entire people. Just such a faith has usually been preserved, in all ages of culture, by the refined intellectual few, but always in opposition to the popular creed, of which it only bears a sort of double-distilled aroma, enough to indicate its origin. Now, Christianity in the days when it increased and flourished, when it fought its way upward from the lowest ranks, and prevailed mightily over fanaticism and barbarism, over Roman Emperors and Gothic Chiefs, over oracles and Pontiffs, in those days it was essentially a belief in concrete facts. There was continual dissension as to the exact nature and number of things necessary to be believed; but the first apostles and missionaries always knew perfectly well what they wanted; their object was clear to them as sunlight; they made no truce with philosophic pagans, nor bargain with national peculiarities. They split up into sects; but the penal clause of the Athanasian Creed may be taken to express precisely the sentiment of each sect as to the importance of its own orthodoxy. "He that believeth not shall be damned," says the ancient interpolator on St. Mark's Gospel. "You must keep our faith whole and undefiled, or without doubt you will perish everlastingly," repeat the framers of the Athanasian confession. Here is a plain message and warning to all men; the purest moralities are in no wise forgotten, but, first and foremost, the heathen are told that certain events happened, and certain things exist, which must be absolutely and unflinchingly accepted as truth. If there be some foundation for the

* Since this sentence was written, we have found the word 'half-way' used, with exactly the meaning which we here deprecate, by the Bishop of Calcutta in a speech at Bombay in December 1870. But the general spirit of the passage, which we quote below, is excellent:—

"When the truth came to them, they were willing to question; they did not rest in their prejudices, their superstitions, their idolatries: they did not rest in *any half-way house*, as I may say, such as I think is offered to you

by some forms of science, and I must say, with all respect, in the Brahma Samaj Society. They were not satisfied, except with that truth which revealed to them the eternity before them—which either solved those mysteries and problems of their nature, or else declared them to be insoluble—which taught them to commit themselves to the hands of the living God—that High God who is their refuge, and underneath are the Everlasting Arms."

assertion that Roman Catholic missions have always been the most successful, if those missionaries have shown greater unwavering self-devotion to the work ; the causes may be traced, we believe, to the fact that their church still demands from them this implicit credence in her dogmatic propositions—this firm, undoubting assent to statement of concrete fact. The Roman Catholic church takes high ground. She says—If you cannot trust in my infallibility, you are no Catholic at all ; if you can, you are saved by that trust, and you can save others. This bold uncompromising assertion conquers the hearts of simple men, and excites their imagination ; they go forth and endure all things. The Roman Church would reject with contempt Mr. Chunder Sen's benevolent patronage of Christianity ; she would turn her back upon him altogether, and the act would be dignified and consistent. She would say—You deny all my cardinal articles of faith ; I will have none of you ; it is impossible that we can have anything in common ; I can offer you no encouragement. You are a mere intellectual will-of-the-wisp, rising over the slough of pagan despond, that will flicker and disappear shortly like hundreds of similar exhalations. Moreover, your theories are only a shade better than the pure intellectual atheism which is 2,000 years old, at least, in this country—the Sankhya philosophy—and to that your disciples will surely come, sooner or later. For the deist believes that the true and only revelation of God to man is that which is written on the heart.

‘But then it occurs to him that this inward moral law is there within the heart, whether there be a God or not, and that it is a round-about way of enforcing that law, to say that it comes from God, and simply unnecessary ; and that when he turns to look at the physical world around him, he really does not see what scientific proof there is of the being of God at all ; and it seems to him that all things will go on quite as well as at present without this hypothesis ; so he drops it, and becomes a *purus putus* atheist.’*

Thus speaks the champion of Roman Catholicism, and it must be admitted that, right or wrong, his trumpet sends forth no uncertain sound. But what shall we say of Protestants who betray by word and action a kind of desire to parley with the enemy against whom they have set their camp, or a hope that some compromise may be effected ? who go about making themselves agreeable to every decent moralizer whom they meet ; cheerfully discovering points of agreement ; good-naturedly sinking little doctrinal differences which breed strife ; keeping back the positive articles of Christian faith as if they were a little ashamed of such old-world credulity, and politely acknowledging that Indian Churches cannot be expected to be like English or Scotch institu-

* Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, p. 239.

tions. It is ill taking the breeks off a Highlander; but Dr. Norman Macleod will have to strip himself very bare of dogma before he gets even his Presbyterian Church into a true *concordat* with Brahminism, or any national Church of the Bengalis.

Our readers will bear constantly in mind that we are now measuring the strength and weakness of different Christian Churches only in their tactics against heathendom; and we are fain to confess that, upon this face of the position occupied by Protestants, it is not well suited for aggressive strategy. There is wanting in our creed what Dr. Newman calls the *indefectibility of certitude*. The Protestant will not accept any theological decisions as infallible; he applies to them all the test of human reason. You cannot be absolutely sure that the Pope is infallible, unless you set up as infallible yourself, say our English Divines; and J. S. Mill adds that all the worst blunders and crimes in history have been committed just because people thought that, in religion at least, they could act with the certainty of being right. Such considerations need not affect a Protestant's firm belief in his own individual tenets, but they are in his way when he undertakes to convince an unbeliever; they are even serious hindrances if he puts these tolerant principles into practice, and at the outset of his enterprise fraternizes with men who deny all his distinctive doctrines.

If we were to attempt to rival Babu Keshub Chunder Sen in his endeavour to extract and exhibit the essential spirits of the two great Indian religions, we should say that the basis of Hinduism is timidity, and of the Muhammadan religion vigour. The Hindu worships and propitiates everything that can possibly do him any harm; as a rule, he chooses one god as his tutelary deity, and that one is usually Siva the malignant, but he fears to neglect any other, and prostrates himself hastily before any shrine to which he may have given accidental offence. Compare this habitual feeling with that inculcated by traditional Christianity; nay, compare it with the early Protestant spirit, or with the sentiment of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, with Christian doing battle against Apollyon, and Greatheart slaying the pagan giants. Observe how the Christian Church defies the Devil and all his works, and how the Roman Church, more especially, allows no quarter to Satan, but proclaims endless war. Even the Muhammadans have never kept up that mortal hostility to *Shaitan* and the evil genii which the old Church of Rome showed in its furious detestation of witchcraft; for the Musalmans permit considerable dabbling in what they call the 'white art' of sorcery. Whereas the mediæval priesthood most resolutely denounced all attempts to conciliate the powers of the air as high treason against God, a treating with the King's enemies, a want of reliance upon His sovereign power and universal

dominion. We conceive that the Protestant ecclesiastics have never (except, perhaps, in Scotland) been thus violent against the sin of witch-craft; and there is a certain indulgent weakness toward Satan clearly perceptible throughout the whole of *Paradise Lost*,* of which work Colenso truly observes that it has got inextricably mixed up with the Bible as a sacred history in the minds of a vast number of Englishmen. Now, to us it appears evident that what the Hindu religion most wants, must be above all things supplied by those who desire to convert Hindus; they must bring to the task a courageous unreasoning (not necessarily, unreasonable) certitude and a supreme authority in dogmatic theology; the first to re-assure this timid fetichism, the second to control Hindu credulity and ingenuity, to prevent it from running off again into the two opposite extremes of atheistic nihilism and innumerable tangled superstitions. Whether Anglican Protestantism at home needs these two qualifications, is a question which we do not raise; we merely say that without them she will make few proselytes in India. And this opinion is very forcibly urged upon the Missionary Association at Aberdeen in the address—*A Plea for Indian Missions*—which we have named at the head of this article. Mr. Forbes is assuredly not open to the imputation of showing tenderness toward Satan; on the contrary, he attributes to the direct agency of devils every social custom and religious rite of Bengal which is shocking to the decent Scotch mind. "Hindu widowhood is Satan's master-piece." Caste is the Devil's yoke. Jagannath and the Charak Puja were invented by devils. This is, we submit, not only to err in the other extreme by showing gross unfairness to Satan; but it betrays (curiously enough) a tendency toward that very superstitious polytheism which causes those practices which the lecturer is denouncing. Only the Hindu propitiates the Devil, while the Scotchman defies him.

Dr. Newman, in his *Grammar of Assent*, takes occasion to say that "Bible Religion is both the recognized title and the best description of English religion." He is far from undervaluing the "indiscriminate reading of Scripture," but he observes:—

'Still, much more is necessary to answer to the idea of a religion; whereas our national form professes to be little more than thus reading the Bible and leading a correct life. It is not a religion of persons and things, of acts of faith and direct devotion, but of sacred

* Arthur Helps tells us how some minister read to Lord Thurlow, by way of impressive religious instruction, Satan's great speech in Milton's first book. When he came to the line "Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven," Thurlow cried out

with much warmth:—"A d—d fine fellow, and I hope he may win." 'Satan was a Whig'—is the genuine lenient expression of ordinary English opinion upon the conduct of Milton's hero.

scenes and pious sentiments. It has been comparatively careless of creeds and catechism, and has consequently shown little sense of the need of consistency in its teaching. Its doctrines are not so much facts, as stereotyped aspects of facts, and it is afraid, so to say, of walking round them. It induces its followers to be content with this meagre view of revealed truth; or, rather, it is suspicious and protests, or is frightened, as if it saw a figure in a picture move out of its frame, when Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, or the Holy Apostles, are spoken of as real beings, really such as Scripture implies them to be.

Now it will hardly be denied that this is to some extent a true description of religion as it is practised in England and Scotland; for Dr. Newman (be it understood) treats* the Establishments as but two out of numerous insular sects. We only quote the passage here as throwing light on the principles at root of some systems of propagating the faith in India. One Madras mission works almost exclusively, though on a large scale, by simple distribution of Bibles in the vernacular, by selling them broadcast through colporteurs, without any comment or introduction, unless a special opportunity offers. Some Scotch missions have for years tried the experiment of not preaching at all, but of opening free schools, in the astounding expectation that mere secular teaching will incline the hearts of Indians to the Free Kirk. All this, we submit, shows a complete misapprehension of the nature of mission work; and indeed Mr. Forbes undertakes to prove by actual figures that the Scotch teaching method has been almost wholly barren of results. To suppose that the Bible will itself by some talismanic energy convert men from false gods or from atheism, is to carry Dr. Newman's definition of Protestantism to its furthest extreme. To believe that mere secular education is to evangelization what a careful preparing of the soil is to actual sowing, is to proceed

* We append a newspaper extract, which shows that, as might be expected, even Bible religion is becoming too narrow for the free human intellect:—

RELIGIOUS INNOVATION IN EDINBURGH.—On October 16, Mr. Drummond (a Dissenting clergyman) of St. Mark's Chapel, Edinburgh, in introducing the second lesson, made the following announcement:—"It has been long deeply impressed on my mind that we lose a great deal by confining our public readings to the books commonly known as the Holy Scriptures. Besides, I think it is entirely inconsistent with the view of the character and nature of the Bible, which has been maintained in

this place at all events during the last quarter of a century, and certainly inconsistent with the view which is held by most or all of us.

It is encouraging an erroneous and superstitious view of the nature of the Bible; and besides, it is often extremely difficult to find in that book two really suitable lessons. For the future, therefore, while I shall so far conform to common custom as to take one lesson from the Bible (and probably I may often take both), I shall hold myself at liberty to select the second from any source that I may think proper." He then proceeded to read an extract from Emerson's essay entitled *Works and Days*.

upon the assumption that Christianity is a simple question of trained reasoning; whereas nothing can ever be gained by only stimulating disorderly natural impulses of the mind in those very departments of thought where ideas are most liable to perversion and where imagination is most apt to go astray. The paths of religion are numberless, especially in India. You set down a youth in this labyrinth, keeping the clue to yourself, and expect him to hit it off. He might do so if Protestantism were a faith to be reached by logic or a series of true inferences; but this is just what it never pretends, and never ought to pretend, to be. On this matter we quote again from Dr. Newman:—

‘The heart is commonly reached, not through the reason, but through the imagination, by means of direct impressions, by the testimony of facts and events, by history, by description. Persons influence us, voices melt us, looks subdue us, deeds inflame us. *Many a man will live and die upon a dogma; no man will be a martyr for a conclusion.* A conclusion is but an opinion. * * No man, I say, will die for his own calculations, he will die for realities. This is why a literary religion is so little to be depended on; it looks well in fair weather; but its doctrines are opinions, and when called to suffer for them, it slips them between its folios, or burns them at its hearth.

‘Logic makes but a sorry rhetoric with the multitude; first shoot round corners, and you may not despair of converting with a syllogism. Tell men to gain notions of a Creator from His works, and if they were to set about it (which nobody does), they would be jaded and wearied by the labyrinth which they were tracing. * * After all, man is not a reasoning animal, he is a seeing, feeling, contemplating, acting animal. * * Religion has ever been synonymous with revelation; * * it has ever been a message, a history, a vision. No legislator or priest ever dreamed of educating our moral nature by science or argument. There is no difference here between true religion and pretended. *Moses was instructed not to reason from the creation, but to work miracles. Christianity is a history supernatural, almost scenic; it tells us what its Author is, by telling us what He has done.*’

It should be mentioned that these are quotations from a letter written by Newman when he was a Protestant, which letter he has now reproduced in his *Grammar of Assent*. However, Protestant and Catholic will agree that the ground taken up by Dr. Newman is the only position from which missionaries can hope to act victoriously in an offensive campaign against other religions in India; for it is not reasonable to expect that a decent middle-class education, such as is given in Scotch mission schools at their best, will prepare heathen traders for the Gospel; or that a chapter out of St. Paul’s Epistles in indifferent Telugu will draw a Madras rustic nearer to salvation.* Still more irrational is it to hope that

* The subjoined extract from an Indian newspaper of November 1870 will

Babu Keshub Chunder's outpourings about the goodness of God can ultimately direct the intellectual classes (to say nothing of the vulgar) toward an apprehension of a creed which is attested by prophecy and miracles. The manifest inconsistency of these methods with the cardinal principles of those who employ them, and the incompatibility of such an alliance, must be fatal to the cause; the concessions which missionaries do thus virtually make, must undermine their foundations.

But let us venture to compare for a moment Mr. Sen's line of demonstration with Dr. Newman's. The Brahminist agrees with the Roman Catholic, that reason is insufficient as a base for religious convictions; but here they part company, for the former holds dogma to be standing-ground equally fallacious. "Do not preach to me dogmas and traditions," he cries with fervid declamation, "talk not to me of raising my soul by mere theological inferences and argument. * * You may employ all means of spiritual

show that we do not exaggerate this curious phantasy:—

PROPAGATING THE FAITH.—A correspondent of the *Madras Observer* recommends the circulation of the tenets of Christianity by means of dropping printed tracts in the jungles and by road-sides, so that natives may pick them up and thus be induced to read them. This correspondent says, "I am aware that those best able to judge have come to the conclusion that selling religious works, even at the most nominal prices, is preferable to gratuitous distribution, as creating a greater interest in the articles thus obtained at some little trouble and cost; and it can be easily imagined that the dwellers in towns or large villages, with their many distractions, should care little for that which cost them nothing and could be had for the asking. But I submit that the gaily-covered tract, *dropped by the road-side in the remote jungle by an isolated engineer or police officer*, whose work calls him where such articles are unknown, would be eagerly appropriated by its unsophisticated finder—a herdsman, may be, taking out the village cattle to graze, or a ploughman proceeding to his field; would be perused with

interest by the accountant of his village, and read out by that one literate character in the hamlet to a curious and appreciative audience, assembled perhaps at the old village gate or round the public well. And, with the blessing of God, the seed thus sown by the wayside, and wafted to a virgin soil, might not be without its fruits. I add an apparently trivial but really important suggestion. The neatly bound tract, with its good paper and clear type, would doubtless appear to its finder as costly and as sumptuous an article as the most exquisitely bound table book would seem to the European, and the village poor would either be afraid to touch such an article lest it should get him into trouble with 'the Police,' or would carefully take it to the village officials as unclaimed property, or would possibly appropriate the book with the dishonest idea that he made illicit gain thereby. To remove such ideas, and to secure that the finder could keep his prize with a good conscience, all publications intended for wayside distribution should bear a distinct label, with some such words as these (of course in the local vernacular) 'The finder will please keep.' "

214 Christianity and the Brahma Samaj.

culture, but they are unprofitable without vivid faith." But how is this faith to be acquired? Listen—

'Are we not indebted to the objects around us for evidences of divine power, intelligence and mercy? *Do not the physical sciences give us better and higher conceptions of God and His government of the world than we could otherwise possess?* And are not our religious sentiments awakened and our hearts ennobled, by the contemplation of the vast starry convex above, the stupendous mountain, the deep unfathomable sea,† &c. &c. * * Nay, many a soul has been led away from scepticism, infidelity and immorality, by the wholesome influence of natural objects! * * That the material universe is a great religious teacher, that the sublime and beautiful in nature exercise a vast moral influence on the mind, few will deny.'

Dr. Newman, we have seen, denies it most flatly; so will most thinking men who judge by history, observation and experience. Naturally, religious men feel awed and subdued by the aspect of the world around them; but who ever really knew of a clever knave, or a poor sinful blockhead, being reclaimed from vice by the sight of the stars, or by grand scenery? Moreover, any logical Brahmist, who may unluckily be without an eye for the picturesque, must soon perceive that vivid faith in an unseen God is just as pure a dogma as faith in Christ's divinity; and thus he will soon find himself sliding down that *facilis descensus Averni*, that easy slope toward atheism, which Dr. Newman has laid out for deists in one of our former quotations. Brahism is literally anchored nowhere; it has no abiding place or set limits; and these very proclivities make it a most perilous connection for Protestantism, which has always been somewhat of a rolling-stone.

We have laid all this stress upon the futility of joining hands with Brahism, or of uniting in any vague aspirations after a national Indian Church of some undefined order, because we believe that these are all symptoms of a tendency to attempt to introduce Christianity by a process of rounding off, smoothing down, and of general attenuation. Whereas we say that any such compromises must inevitably defeat their own object, because they betray hesitation and uncertainty, which are fatal in missionary enterprise as in war. We assume, of course, the object to be the conversion of Indians to a belief in the great facts taught by our churches, not the mere inculcation of higher moralities.

* This is Robert Montgomery (Macaulay's victim) in prose. Readers of one slaughterous critique upon him will remember the lines—

'O never did the dark-souled Atheist stand,
And watch the billows boiling on the strand,' &c.

† But the whole Brahmist passage most reminds us of some of Eugene Aram's moralizing.

Whether evangelization can ever be accomplished to any extent by any force weaker than spontaneous enthusiasm and self-devotion, whether the most conscientious efforts of salaried preachers to do their duty can avail much—is the experiment which several Protestant Churches are now trying. But we have no doubt that such missionaries in India must, above all others, boldly assume the character of authoritative interpreters of an indubitable supernatural religion; in them there must be no varying, neither shadow of turning, and by that sign they *may* conquer. It is remarkable that Protestant missions are usually strict over enough on social questions, such as monogamy, re-marriage of converts, caste prejudices, and the like; and they thus kick needlessly against the stiffest points of Hinduism. For such punctiliousness they have no scriptural warrant; indeed, St. Paul's example is against it, and they might be lax in these matters much more safely than in their theology. For the Hindu has always been ready to listen to new doctrines; they are without any separate organized body of dogmatic teachers or spiritual guides; they have no sacred books purporting to emanate directly from Heaven and prescribing infallible articles of universal faith. They have a traditional ritual, but their popular religion is a mere *cultus*, or set of observances and instructions, laying down what is to be done and avoided. No defined hopes and fears guide the multitude; they are clear neither as to Heaven nor Hell. Hence they are continually looking out for new pastors and spiritual masters—for persons who shall come forward and interpret to them the Divine Will. Hence the infinite army of saints and thaumaturgists which is at this moment spread all over India. Hence the universal custom of electing a spiritual director, or of attaching one's self to the doctrines of some famous Hindu dissident—Kabir Pant, Chambusápa, or Nának. Whenever, indeed, there has arisen among this crowd of devout personages a man who added to asceticism and a spiritual kind of life that active intellectual originality which impels to the attack of old beliefs and the preaching of new ones, then a sect has been founded and a new light revealed.

We trust that we have managed to keep our readers upon the main line of our argument. We are attempting to show that a missionary above all men must enter the field well equipped with clear authoritative beliefs and doctrines—he must be prepared to dogmatize, or he cannot expect to be heard in India. And further, as the defect of Protestantism is a certain want of safe dogmatic anchorage, therefore any inclination toward Brahmsm is to be regarded as a drift toward a lee-shore—a sign that we are in a dangerous current. We have also given our reasons for holding Babu Keshub Chunder Sen to be setting up for Christians not a friendly lamp, but a light-house; not to be showing our missionaries the road, but the

216 *Christianity and the Brahma Samaj.*

rocks ; and only in this latter capacity is he a valuable pioneer. No one can fail to be struck with the immense superiority of the Brahmist's creed over all the superstitions by which his countrymen are blinded, nor can any one doubt the sincerity and unselfish disposition of Keshub Chunder Sen himself. But, if we could believe this to be the last final outcome and reward of the earnest struggles through 3,000 years of the Hindu thinker to discover his true God and to approach nigh unto him, if he is to be content in the fullness of time with Brahism as the solace to his soul and the limit to his understanding of the ways of the Omnipotent, then, indeed, has man through countless generations "rolled the psalm to wintry skies and built him fanes of fruitless prayer." The Brahmist will soon turn away despairingly from his vain attempt to discover the benevolence or providence of the Creator in the pitiless unchanging order of Nature around him ; the higher and more resolute intellects will subside into hopeless materialism, while the ignorant simple populace will relapse into abject idolatrous terror of remorseless fate, and of the malignant unseen deities to whom they will again ascribe all the inexplicable miseries of human life.

Father Newman of the Oratory and Babu Keshub Chunder Sen represent (though most unequally) the two opposite poles of religious conviction, between which stands Protestantism, not unmoved on either side by the antagonistic attractions of implicit credence and of honest doubt. If, however, to the Churches, militant and missionary, in India such a middle position be found no longer practicable, then of two dangers they will choose the least by approaching the Romanist that they may avoid the deist. The former at least offers something in return for the faith which he demands ; his is the Church which, if you can only embrace it blindly,

metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

A. C. L.

ART. III.—LAND IMPROVEMENT IN THE NORTH-WEST.

An Act to authorize the advance of public money to promote the improvement of land in Great Britain and Ireland by works of drainage. 1846. (9 and 10 Vict. c. 101).

An Act to facilitate the drainage of lands in England and Wales. 1847. (10 and 11 Vict. c. 38).

An Act to promote the advance of private money for Drainage of lands in Great Britain and Ireland. 1849. (12 and 13 Vict. c. 100).

The Land Drainage Act, Ireland. 1863.

The Drainage and Improvement of Lands Act. 1863.

The Improvement of Land Act. 1864.

The Gazette of India, July 9th, 1870, and 7th January 1871.

Directions to Revenue Officers, N.W.P.

MORE than three years ago an article in this *Review*,* published shortly after the Orissa Famine, drew attention to the necessity of some more effective system of advances than then existed, in order to stimulate the improvement of land. Since that article was written, a severe drought has passed over Northern India, and has again shown the urgent necessity of more thoroughly securing the country from the ever recurring famines which periodically desolate it. Notwithstanding the steady extension of canal irrigation, there must always remain a large extent of country which must look for its security to wells ; and the more thoroughly canal water is distributed according to the enlightened principles which have recently been adopted, the more universally will wells be required, and the more desirable is it that the old half-forgotten system of *tuccavee*, under which advances are made by the State for land improvements, should be re-established and improved.

The system of *tuccavee* is, in one form or other, far older than our rule in India. On the annexation of the Upper Provinces, Regulations XLVI of 1795 and XLIV of 1803 were passed to extend to the new territory the rules on this subject which had for some years been in operation in Lower Bengal.† The rules thus introduced have all along remained in force ; they have been commented upon in orders of Government and in the circulars of the Board of Revenue. As a fact, however, advances have in recent years been few, and have been made chiefly at times when particular attention has been attracted to the subject. Ordinarily, the people, disheartened by the want of success of their neighbours who have asked for help, have not cared to apply for advances ; and

* Vol. xvi. p. 168.

† Reg. 11 of 1793, sec. 44.

it has required a considerable amount of determination and perseverance on the part of the district officer to overcome the passive opposition of his superiors. The matter, however, has never been allowed to drop entirely out of sight. Efforts have constantly been made by the more energetic of Collectors to overcome the *insouciance* of those above them, and we read in the revenue administration report of the North-Western Provinces for 1864-65 that Mr. Ricketts, then Collector of Allahabad, had written at length on the subject, hoping that some general scheme might result from his report. "It has borne," he complains, "no such fruit, but still I renew my advocacy. The scheme has no novelty to recommend it; it cannot compare in grandeur with any system of canals, but, nevertheless, it is most easily managed. It has none of the drawbacks which attended canal irrigation; it insures the Government revenue, and increases that revenue. It is no paltry scheme which insures these great results." Mr. Ricketts's exertions in the development of irrigation were held to be deserving of praise; but although he received this empty compliment, and although he succeeded during the year 1864-65 in getting *tuccavee* amounting to Rs. 28,782 for ninety-nine wells and one tank in his own district, no further notice was taken of his general scheme, the success of which was, no doubt, unfortunately affected by one or two expensive and impracticable suggestions which it contained.

In the same report was printed a memorandum written by Mr. Jenkinson, Deputy Commissioner of Jhansie, one of the districts most seriously affected by the recent drought. This officer urged upon the Board the policy of giving advances to the zemindars for the repair of wells and the smaller tanks—the advances to be repaid in small instalments, extending over a number of years. There can be little doubt that Mr. Jenkinson here hit upon one of the great defects of the present system—the shortness of the period within which advances have to be repaid. An early date is fixed for the completion of the work, and the rule is that, "except in special cases, the whole advance shall be re-paid in three years from that date."

Although the difficulties with which Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Jenkinson had to contend, were in no way removed, advances continued to be sanctioned, and one step at least was gained; for we are in possession of statements showing the amount of *tuccavee* given from the year 1866-67 up to the date of the last administration report.

These amounts were—

1866-67	...	...	...	Rs. 33,944	8
1867-68	...	...	...	" 17,029	0
1868-69	...	...	...	" 1,77,109	0

The sudden increase in the year of drought shows how capable the system is of extension, when the people are convinced that

money is likely to be advanced, and when the period for re-payment is reasonably lengthened. The statements show further what need there is of some change, either in the system itself or in its administration ; for it is to be feared that the small sum advanced in 1867-68 represents not unfairly the normal state of affairs. Even when the local Government began to make liberal advances in the famine year, its policy was suddenly curtailed by orders from the Government of India.

It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that the Government of India, which is responsible for at least the last discouragement of advances for the improvement of land, should in its circular, dated the 2nd June 1870, have busied itself with a scheme "for extending and improving the system of giving assistance to proprietors of land for the construction of permanent works of agricultural improvement." Shortly before the end of the year, Mr. Strachey moved for leave to introduce a bill on the subject, but as the bill is not yet before the public, we must satisfy ourselves with discussing the question as it was left on the publication of the circular of the Government of India.

The Governor-General in Council somewhat strangely prefaces the pith of the circular by remarking, that "the system under which *tuccavee* advances have been given in many parts of India, is identical with that which is carried out in the United Kingdom with admirable results by means of the Land Improvement Acts." After so positive an assertion on the part of so high an authority, we write with some hesitation, but we had always thought that the two systems were not only not similar, but directly opposed to each other. At home the principle is—a long period for re-payment, and (for the country) a tolerably high rate of interest charged. Here in India no interest is taken, but the period for re-payment is extremely short. In an important detail, moreover, there is a very obvious difference ; at home, advances are generally granted when applied for ; here they are, and recently owing to the action of the Government of India, almost invariably refused. It is, however, unnecessary to dwell upon what is after all not a very important error, and we are the less inclined to do so, because we believe that the adoption, with necessary modifications, of the system followed in the United Kingdom, which was suggested in the circular, and more fully promised by Mr. Strachey in Council, will lead to very beneficial results.

For the defects of the Indian system are precisely those which a reference to the system now well known at home, is likely to remedy. The first of these defects is the extreme uncertainty of getting the advance, unless indeed a European officer should have come across the applicant in his tour, should have seen the necessity of the improvement, and should have been sufficiently interested in the project to support it. Under ordinary circumstances, the

proprietor applies for an advance; the petition is sent to the tehsildar, who, in most cases, reports that the applicant is well enough off to make his own improvements without the help of Government, and the petition is consigned to the record office. Now this may be due in some cases to want of interest on the part of the district officer, but in many instances it is unquestionably owing to the conviction that the present system is based on unsound principles. It is true that in temporarily settled districts the State is part owner of the land, and ought in the end to share in the benefits resulting from improvement; but the advantage to the landlord is immediate and almost certain, while the participation in the benefit by the State is at the best distant, and even then is doubtful. It is asked, therefore, why the landlord should get the public money and give no return; and the result is, that only the poorest are likely to be helped. These again think more of the danger of imperilling their property than of the advantage of improving it; and when they do apply for and get the advance, the time allowed for re-payment is so short that they frequently have to borrow from the money-lender in order to meet the instalments due to Government.

Even from the point of view, therefore, of the landlord himself, the English system is better than the Indian; and fair interest and small instalments are preferable to no interest and three annual payments. And, if advances are to be made throughout the length and breadth of India, the question must be looked at as it affects the Government. For, if the proposals of Government are honestly carried out, the drain on its treasury may prove to be greater than is convenient. The more too the one distinctive principle of the English system is conceded, and small instalments, distributed over a lengthened term of years, are substituted for the three annual payments, the longer will Government be kept out of its money, and the more necessary is it that interest should be charged.

The English law on the subject of land improvement advances is contained in 9 and 10 Vict. c. 101, and the other Acts which are given at the head of this paper. An Act had been passed to promote drainage in Ireland in the year 1842; but 9 and 10 Vict. c. 101 (*An Act to authorise the advance of public money to a limited amount to promote the improvement of land in Great Britain and Ireland by works of drainage*) which was passed in 1846, may fairly be accepted as the ground-work of the present system.

This Act authorizes advances for the improvement of land from the consolidated fund to the amount of two million pounds sterling for Great Britain and one million for Ireland. These sums, however large they may seem, were quickly applied for and appropriated; and after additional sums had been granted for

Ireland, and applied for in Great Britain, an Act was passed in 1849 to promote the advance of *private* money for the drainage of lands in Great Britain and Ireland. The making of advances for land improvement was in this way handed over to the numerous Land Loan Companies which have sprung up, and which lend money to landlords under the conditions imposed by 12 and 13 Vict. c. 100, and its successors.

It would be tedious to go over in detail all the provisions of these Acts. Many of them cannot be applied to a country in which the law of entail is unknown, while others are of little use in a land over which are scattered powerful Government establishments, all under one central authority, and able, without any important addition to their strength, to supervise, as indeed they now in some measure do, the granting and the expenditure of advances. We do not intend therefore to trespass so much on the patience of our readers as to condemn them to a repetition of the many provisions on the subject which have during the last twenty-five years been enacted, modified and repealed. But we wish to draw attention to those which are most important to us, and are most capable of application to India.

In the Statute of 1846 it was enacted that a rent-charge of £6-10 should be charged for every £100 advanced, and that this amount should be payable for twenty-two years. In other words, the recipient of an advance paid, in half-yearly instalments, $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum for twenty-two years, in return for the amount which he had received, thus giving to Government at the end of twenty-two years £143 for the £100 which had been advanced. In the private money Drainage Act of 1849, and in the Improvement of Land Act which superseded it in 1864, it was enacted that the rate of interest should never exceed five per cent per annum, while the last mentioned Act extended the period for re-payment to twenty-five years.

In extending this system to India some modifications would be required. In this country of high interest, the rate charged need not be in any case less than five per cent, and it is very desirable that at least this rate should be charged on all advances. The period for re-payment, on the other hand, might well be shortened. The advantage from such improvements as are likely to be effected is immediate and great, and a maximum of twelve years would be a sufficiently long period to allow. As a rule, indeed, we should prefer shorter periods of six and eight years; a rent-charge of Rs. 20 and Rs. 16 per annum respectively being payable for these periods in re-payment of every Rs. 100 advanced. In this way, the land-owner who selected eight years as the period for re-payment, would pay into the treasury about Rs. 16 per annum: the first payment falling due one year from the date of the advance, and the payments being made yearly or half-yearly,

as the people might wish and Government might determine. Such a rent-charge would not be much more than is now often paid as interest on loans protected by good security, and would not fall on the Indian landlord more heavily than the £6-12-4 to £6-14-1, and similar rates levied for twenty-five years by the Land Loan and Emfranchisement Company and other Associations, on proprietors in Great Britain and Ireland.

As we have already remarked, there is much in the English Acts which is inapplicable to India—at least to the Upper Provinces. The work done by the Enclosure Commissioners in Great Britain, and the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, will be best done out here by district officers and their subordinates. In most cases, moreover, there will be no necessity (at first at least) for an expensive establishment of inspectors and surveyors. In the words of the circular of the Government of India, “the character of most of the works would be so simple that the Collector or district officer, on whom would fall the chief duty of making the advances and of supervising the execution of the works, would find little difficulty in taking all necessary precautions to prevent the occurrence of abuses, and to secure the proper application of the money to the purposes for which it is advanced.” In all districts, too, there are local fund establishments, from which assistance could be obtained, and for larger and more expensive undertakings the aid of the Public Works Department might be called in. This would be the less difficult and objectionable because, so far as our experience goes, the most difficult improvement—that of drainage—is most required in those districts in which there are large canal establishments at hand; and it is only fitting that a department which has swamped so much valuable land, should be asked to help in draining it. Even if it should be found that some extra establishment will be required, we are strongly of opinion that the necessary expenditure should be met, not as at home by a special, and to some extent, preliminary charge, but that the average prospective outlay on account of survey or inspection should be taken into account when the instalments are fixed. The charge of 5 per cent interest will, as long as Government can borrow money at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, leave one half per cent per annum at the disposal of Government for this purpose, and the instalments might always be fixed in round sums so as to leave a small margin in favour of the State. This margin would, with the half per cent of interest, provide for the trifling expenditure which is likely to be incurred for survey and inspection. This point we hold to be of some importance, for there is nothing so likely to deter the poorer and more ignorant landowners from applying for the assistance which they so much require, as the necessity of any preliminary expenditure before the sanction of the advance.

The procedure then would be in reality as simple and inexpensive, as that suggested in Section 10 of the circular. The application would be made on stamped paper (of a value of, say, annas 4 for every Rs. 100 applied for) to the Collector, who would cause inquiry to be made whether the proposed improvement would increase the annual value of the land by an amount exceeding the annual sum to be charged upon the land for the re-payment of the advance, or at least by an amount which capitalized would exceed the cost of the improvement. The result of this inquiry, if favourable to the applicant, would be the recommendation of the advance as originally applied for or after such modification as might seem necessary. The Collector would, at the same time, quickly and easily ascertain whether the application had been made by the real and sole owner, or owners, of all the land which it was proposed to improve. Should the Collector's inquiry regarding the value of the improvement prove favourable, there can be no doubt as to the sufficiency of the security; for even if no new law be passed similar to those which have secured the priority to all other charges on the land of the rent-charge due as re-payment to the State, Section 43, Regulation XXVII of 1803 enacted that *tuccavee* is recoverable by the same process as arrears of land revenue; and this provision of the law, combined with the deed of hypothecation which is always required, has proved sufficient for the security of Government.

The objects for which it is proposed in the Government circular to make advances, are—

1. Wells, and other works for the storage, supply or distribution of water for agricultural purposes, and the preparation of land for irrigation.
2. Drainage.
3. The reclaiming of land from rivers.
4. The protection of land from floods.
5. The reclaiming, clearing and enclosing of waste lands for agricultural purposes.
6. The clearing of land from stones or other obstacles to cultivation.

At first, no doubt, by far the greater portion of the money advanced will be for wells, tanks, and, in canal districts, distributing water-channels. Objects Nos. 3 and 4 present in this part of India features of peculiar difficulty and uncertainty, and operations for effecting them will, we trust, be undertaken with the utmost caution. Nos. 5 and 6 again are, no doubt, operations of the utmost utility; but we believe that in most cases these objects will be accomplished indirectly by an improvement for which no advances are contemplated.

In nine cases out of ten, extensive waste lands are unenclosed, and stony fields have not been cleared, simply because the neighbourhood is under-populated ; and some provision is urgently required in order to facilitate advances to landlords who are anxious to settle cultivators in backward tracts. The author of the circular has evidently studied Section 9 of the Improvement of Land Act, 1864, 27 and 28 Vict. c. 114, but it is a pity that he should have stopped short at the end of clause 7. It is true that in this country expensive farm and engine-houses are not yet required, but the beginning of clause 8, "the erection of labourers' cottages," might have suggested one of the most obvious improvements which a landlord can undertake—that of settling his tenants close to the fields which they are to till.

An addition to Section 4 of the circular, authorising advances for this purpose, would have met nearly every case which would otherwise come under clauses 5 and 6, and would be far more widely applicable ; and we trust that, before the scheme is matured, the required addition will be made. This is the more necessary that clauses 5 and 6 in no way provide for the most obvious means of improving lands already under cultivation, but which do not happen to be stony. In nearly every district there are tracts in which the people live at a great distance from their fields, and in which a great portion of the day is lost by the cultivator in going to and returning from his work. The area cultivated is large, but the standard of cultivation is extremely low, and the obvious method of improving it is to found new hamlets, and thus to bring the cultivator nearer to his fields. Advances for the settlement of cultivators would provide both for the reclamation of uninhabited wastes, and for the improvement of cultivated tracts which are fairly populated ; but in which, for one reason or other, the people are gathered together in towns instead of being distributed over the face of the country in smaller villages and petty hamlets.

We have as yet omitted all mention of the second class of works for which it is proposed to make advances, not because drainage is unimportant, but because there are several points in connection with it on which it is necessary to dwell at some length. For works such as this, and those named in the third and fourth clauses, it may be found that considerable preliminary expense will be required ; but we trust that even if this should unfortunately be requisite in the case of these works, no separate and preliminary charge will be made with reference to the first, fifth and sixth clauses, or to the seventh which we would add.

But before drainage, such as is required in India, can be effectually, even though partially, carried out, it will be necessary to provide for the taking up of land so as to secure an outfall for those

estates which do not immediately adjoin a river, stream, or public drainage channel. Act XII of 1866 provides for the taking up of land for private water-courses; and if water-course had been defined, as in the Irish Act of 1863, to include "all passages through which water flows," no further legislation would be required. As the Act stands, however, it will be necessary to make the procedure already authorized for the appropriation of land for private water-courses applicable to the taking up of land for private drainage channels throughout India.

Still it is to be feared that the landlords of Upper India are for the most part too sluggish and unenlightened to exert themselves to drain the swamped portions of their estates; and that in this department of land improvement, our main reliance must be placed on the new "Northern India Canal and Drainage Act." It would, however, be easy enough to combine the two systems—to retain the very necessary provisions for compulsory drainage, but to treat the first cost of drainage works as a *tuccavee* advance to be re-paid in fixed instalments, instead of, as proposed in the Bill, to leave the interest of the sum expended as a permanent charge upon the land. In such matters there will be for many years in India great need of compulsion, but we would by all practicable means restore the people to independence of Government; and even, where compulsion may at first have been necessary, we would enable them to free their land from any permanent charge other than that for necessary repairs.

The main changes then which we advocate in the present system of making advances for the improvement of land, are—(1) that advances should be granted as a rule whenever they are applied for; (2) that the period for re-payment should be lengthened, a limit of ten or twelve years being fixed; (3) that interest should be charged by Government, even where the land revenue is not permanently assessed.

In making this last proposal, we may probably expose ourselves to hostile criticism. We may be charged with taxing enterprise and the expenditure of capital, and of suggesting a system, the real tendency of which is to repress that spirit of improvement which it is the object of these advances to promote. But we contend that, the proposal we have made, is in no way opposed either to true policy or to established usage. It has all along been a principle of our land revenue administration to assess the demand of the State, upon the actual assets of the land, but to be careful that the landlord should be allowed ample time to re-imburse himself for his outlay, the annual profit from which is eventually only shared, not engrossed by Government. The landlord of Upper India was originally, and in a great measure still is, merely a tenant of the State; and when, like those holding under him in similar circumstances, he

is exempted from enhancement for a reasonable period in cases where, at his own expense but with the effective aid of Government, he has increased the productiveness of the land, he will have no cause to grumble, if, when he has re-imbursed himself for the outlay, he is made to share with the superior landlord, the State, the permanent profits of the improvement. To some the charge of interest, however small, and the prospect of enhanced revenue, however distant, may act as an obstacle; but we have little doubt that, if some such system as that which we have suggested be fairly tried, and if a sufficient period, not exceeding under ordinary circumstances twenty years from the date of the last instalment, be allowed to the landlord for the re-imburement of the outlay, Government will find no difficulty in utilizing all the funds which it is likely to devote to this important object.

But as long as we have to look solely to the landlords, widespread improvement must in many tracts be slow and uncertain. Absentee landlords are very often as defective in enterprise as they are wanting in a wholesome interest in the people over whom they are placed; and it would not be difficult to point to many tracts in which improvement is at a stand-still, because the landlord will neither himself improve nor allow his tenant to supply his place. Gladly as we welcome this promised effort on the part of the Government of India towards the much needed improvement of the land, we trust that it is only the prelude to a measure still more statesmanlike and effective, which shall secure to the tenant a fair return for the capital which he is able and willing to expend on the land which he occupies, if our Government will only give him that security which the law has hitherto denied.

ART. IV.—BUDDHAGHOSHA'S PARABLES.

BUDDHAGHOSHA'S PARABLES, *translated from Burmese, by Captain T. Rogers, R. E. With an Introduction, containing Buddha's Dhammapada, or "Path of Virtue," translated from Pāli, by F. Max Müller, M.A.* London: Trübner and Co. 1870.

THE tyranny of booksellers is reaching a strange pitch. Captain Rogers, having completed a valuable and amusing translation from the Burmese, is desirous to publish it, but no publisher will undertake the job, unless Mr. Max Müller, or some other gentleman with a name, will contribute something in the way of preface in order to bait the advertisement. This practice has become quite common, and popular authors like Canon Kingsley or Dean Alford, are much in request for floating other people's books. Fortunately, Professor Max Müller brings a conscience to his work, and his contribution to the volume now under consideration contains the results of a good deal of solid labour; nor would Captain Rogers, I presume, object to the statement, that the 172 pages for which the Professor is responsible, form the most valuable portion of the book. But the result is incongruous; the eclipsing of Captain Rogers is hardly fair, and two quite distinct books are in fact bound up together. The Professor does not, perhaps, follow the example of Mr. Fitz Edward Hall, who prefaced Mr. Sherring's useful book on Benares by a dissertation which was certainly scholarly, but unfortunately contradicted on some important points the conclusions of the author whom he was selected to introduce to the public; but most decidedly he goes on his own way, and leaves Captain Rogers very much alone. A few elucidatory notes from the pen of so sound a scholar would have been more *à propos* than the discussions, interesting as they are, which he gives us. For example, Captain Rogers (or his author) draws in several places (*e.g.*, pages 26, 47, 63) a distinction between a *Rahan* and a *Rahanda*; the latter of whom has reached a stage of spiritual perfection immensely superior to that of the former. But both words are apparently renderings of the Skr. *arhat* (N. Sing. *arhan*, pl. *arhantah*.) and the Indian books give no hint at a distinction. Captain Rogers may not have seen in this anything which required explanation, but Professor Max Müller could have helped us. Again, there is a story in the *Parables*, (pp. 108—110,) about a *Pakkeka Buddha*, who is represented as looking about to see whom he should deliver. But a *Pratyeka Buddha* never does this; he is a selfish Buddha—a being who, having reached the enlightened stage, does not trouble himself about delivering any-

body, but feeds unfruitfully upon his own wisdom. Surely, differences of this kind between the older and the newer traditions deserve a little annotation. And so does the epithet *Parā Taken*, by which a Buddha—not only the particular Buddha, Sākya Muni, but his predecessors also—is described throughout the book.

While on the task of fault-finding, I should also like to ask why Professor Max Müller, in this book and in the *Chips*, has adopted the “missionary alphabet,” as he calls it in his *Lectures on the Science of Language*, after using all his life the modified Jonesian system, which has, he admits, “been adopted by the greatest Oriental scholars in England, India and the Continent.”* The essence of this missionary system is the abhorrence of diacritical marks, though why people who habitually dot their *i*'s and *j*'s in English should object to dotting certain letters in Sanskrit, it is hard to see. One objection to the plan is, that it bars the legitimate use of italics; another is its want of system. The lingual *n*, the palatal *s*, and the *anusvāra* are alike represented by italics, which is confusing, while the use of an italic *g* to represent *j*, and of an italic *k* to represent *ch*, is positively misleading. Professor Max Müller has also adopted in this volume a marvellous refinement of type, which expresses the change of final *as* into *o* before a sonant, by a very small *s* placed immediately to the left of the sonant—a strange expedient for one so considerate of the printer in the matter of diacritical marks.

Lastly, why did not the Professor, while he was about it, give us the Pāli text of the *Dhammapada* as well as the translation? For want of this, half his notes are unintelligible.

I now proceed to give some account of the contents of the book, and I commence with Professor Max Müller's portion, which consists of a translation of the *Dhammapada*, and an introductory essay, dealing with some points of the greatest importance in the history of Buddhism. The parables which Captain Rogers has translated form a sort of commentary on the *Dhammapada*, which is a very ancient Pāli poetical work, in detached aphorisms, like the Book of Proverbs. Its author is unknown, as is the case with all the earliest Buddhistical books, and it is generally believed to consist of the actual words uttered by Sākya Muni. To some extent, this may be the case; there are passages which contain, undoubtedly, the very oldest expressions of the Buddhist faith; nor is there any difficulty in supposing that tradition would have preserved, in these instances, the actual words of the founder, who lived only two centuries before the formation of the canon. But the *Dhammapada*, as a distinct work, cannot be traced before the

* *Lectures*, 2nd series, p. 157.

formation of the canon, which took place in the reign of Asoka ; and indeed beyond that date it is probable that no written book existed. The commentator, Buddhaghosha, lived in the fifth century after Christ, and his history is pretty well known from the *Mahāvansa*, a contemporary work. The word *Dhammapada* means, as Professor Max Müller has shown, "the path of virtue," and the book deals with all the essential ideas of Buddhism in the stage in which it was not a philosophy, but a moral reform. It is religion without theology. There are no Bodhisattvas, no Dhyâni Buddhas, no Akanishtha or other specified heavens, none of the speculative refinements which a later age was to introduce into the Church. The Professor has devoted an interesting discussion to the theology of the *Dhammapada*, or rather the theological ideas which may be inferred from its expressions, and its conclusions, if not very satisfactory to the lovers of cut and dried definitions, are pre-eminently so to all who have sincerely tried to get at the heart of an ancient religion. The two most important questions about any religion, considered in its speculative aspect, are these, What does it teach about God ? and what does it teach about a future state ?

Now as to God, all we can learn of Buddhism is simply negative. We find that all the gods who had entered into popular belief continue to be recognized as gods, that is, as beings inhabiting a sphere superior to that of men, and possessing great powers and intense vitality ; but we do not find the distinct recognition of an intelligent First Cause. The Buddhists did not set themselves in opposition to Brahman teaching about the gods. They did not deny the existence of Indra, or even suggest that he was a devil. They said, or seemed to say, "Indra is very great, but the truly wise man is greater even than Indra. The gods are indeed powers, but finite powers, and subject to the law of sin and death. They can do much for you, if you duly propitiate them. They can give you fine clothes and jewels, the lordship over men and the love of women, magic weapons to strike down the foe and charms to stay the sun in its course. They will receive you into glorious paradises, replete with every bliss which man can conceive, but they cannot awaken or purify the soul ; they cannot touch the real man ; such as you are, you will be ; still subject to the tempter, still enchained by sin and the consequences of sin, still mortal and therefore miserable." So the gods are of little account with Buddhist preachers, and we hear little of any of them, except of Mâra, the tempter, a kind of demon-Cupid, who shoots with flower-pointed arrows, that titillate man to lust. Well, we cannot censure a religion for pushing aside the Hindu gods—the misinterpreted relics of a worn-out mythology. Buddhism is not called atheistic for that, but for its alleged denial of a First Cause.

Professor Max Müller's treatment of this subject is hardly quite fair. After quoting some passages of an equivocally sceptical tendency and undoubtedly late origin, he admits that there are other works also belonging to the later or speculative stage of Buddhism, which teach the doctrine of a Creator; and he goes on to say that the earlier writers (from whom alone the founder's views can be inferred) appear to have rather held the sceptical than the orthodox view. But his argument is purely negative. There is no passage in the canonical books which contravenes the atheistic view. Now it seems to me that the negative argument tells as much one way as the other. There is no passage in the canonical books which *asserts* the atheistic view. To clear our notions, we should bear in mind that the early Buddhism did not profess to be a philosophy, and did not put forth a creed. It was a purely moral reformation, and its distinctive doctrines are not theological, but moral. It adopted the popular theology alike in its defects and in its excess; and its peculiarity was, that it laid down with greater definiteness, and pushed to a more logical extreme, certain ethical views, which, as far as we know, were shared both by the philosophy and the popular thought of the time. These views were — looking broadly at them — that there is an infinite difference between right and wrong; and that right actions, by the irrefragable law of the universe, bring reward, and wrong actions punishment; but that there is possible to the intelligent soul, at any period of time, such a distinct and absolute cleaving to the right — such a total abnegation of self and self-regarding wishes — that the consequences of past actions are effaced, and the soul becomes once and for ever enfranchised from the law of retribution, and puts on a higher nature which is incapable of sin. Obviously, this doctrine, so far, has its counterpart in evangelical Christianity. Having originated in India, it operates, of course, on a frame-work of Indian ideas; it is expressed in terms of the current psychology of the time — the law of transmigration, but in essence it is similar to much of the teaching of Protestant Churches, with the difference that though these Churches recognize punishment, they ordinarily repudiate reward. The heaven which is in store for the converted man, through God's grace, corresponds to Nirvâṇa, that is to say, it is the sequence of an act or state of faith, and absolutely incommensurable with the merit of the subject; but the evangelical churches go beyond this and deny merit altogether. The merely moral man of sermons, who is good in all domestic and social relations, pure from vice, the pride of his family and friends, and perhaps of his country, is, if he has not got what is called the "root of the matter," hardly, if at all, better off in the next world than the reprobate. Buddhism gives him, as Paley does, a future state, not only suitable,

but absolutely proportioned to his merit in this ; and, undoubtedly views of this kind are more in accordance with the common sense of humanity. In the ordinary law of life, and apart from the exceptional Nirvâṇa, every past action, good or bad, draws after it inevitable retribution. Punishment follows even the selfish deeds of the holiest of men, while the wickedest of men has his punishment lightened in consideration of any deed of benevolence he may have performed ; just as in the beautiful legend of the middle ages, Judas Iscariot was allowed to cool himself once in a thousand years on an iceberg, because he had once given his cloak to a shivering beggar. Now, what relation do these views bear to the idea of God ? A Christian, habituated to consider the moral government of the universe as the work of a moral Governor, finds a difficulty in separating the two ideas. To the Buddhist that difficulty did not exist. He admitted the law, he did not deny the law-giver ; it simply did not occur to him to enquire whether or not the law was given by a person. No doubt, if Sâkya Muni had read Butler's *Analogy*, or if he had been pressed with questions in a witness-box, he would have admitted the necessity of positing an intelligent and perfectly virtuous Ruler of the Universe ; but it was not so, it never came in his way to make the enquiry. Now this is quite a different thing from atheism — the speculative denial of God ; and in its practical results coincides with the highest theism. The essential point is the belief in right and wrong ; the main argument for God's existence — apart from that argument for design in nature, which the Hindu mind never fastened on — is the necessity for a supreme source of good ; but if that good, if the absolute and eternal superiority of right to wrong, and what divines call 'the exceeding sinfulness of sin,' were clearly recognized and practically demonstrated, a speculative correctness of view was of little consequence. One thing the Buddhist was certainly clear upon — that Indra and the thirty-two gods did not make the world, either the visible or the moral world ; they were subject to the law of actions like ourselves, just as Jupiter himself had to obey *fatum*, or that which was spoken — the Greek or Roman, like the Buddhist, did not presume to guess by whom. Even in the views of Jonathan Edwards, the actions of God appear to be controlled by an irrefragable Necessity, which, though represented as arising from His nature, cannot but destroy the conception of Him as an intelligent and voluntary being. This view might, indeed, more justly be termed atheism than that of Sâkya, for it strives to penetrate further into the origin of things. It asserts God Himself to be bound by law, whereas Buddhism merely says that the *gods*, i.e., those whom the people called gods, were bound by law ; and leaves ample room behind all law for the Infinite Being, pure and perfect, of whom the Jewish prophets

have told mankind. Of course there are passages in later Buddhist writings which deny the existence of God. Professor Max Müller has quoted one at least, from which no other inference can be drawn; and there are several in Burnouf. But it must be remembered that these speculators go still further. They deny the world and the existence of man, and they even put into the mouth of the Buddha arguments against his own reality. But we need not enter into the question whether *any* philosophical meaning underlies these rhapsodies of negativism: certain it is that they smell of the lamp, not the forum; they never could have been taught to the crowd of busy men; they are the scatter-brained effusions of the hermit's cell. These are not the doctrines which reform the world, which make men self-denying and earnest; and I would go so far as to say that they throw no light whatever upon the essence of the Buddhist reformation; and that while the later aberrations may point to a defect in the original creed as a controlling agency, they cannot be employed to establish a connate error.

The other point of interest dealt with in this preface is the Buddhist conception of a future state, and especially of the Nirvâṇa, the supreme state reserved for the absolutely enlightened soul. The later Buddhist writers, striving to give an exact definition of all the terms of their religion, found themselves in great perplexity about this Nirvâṇa, which the older writers described principally by negatives. It was a state of supreme bliss, and supreme bliss was most easily described by predicating the absence of causes of trouble. There was no grief or pain, no regret and no desire. Do not we hear something like this in the descriptions of heaven? It is the place where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest; there is to be no sun and no moon, no night and no more sea;—"there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain." Now it is quite natural that later theorists should refine upon these simple descriptions; should try to build a philosophical system out of negative expressions used without reference to theory, and having laid down their *nidāna*, or chain of causes, should arrive at the notion that as *nāmarupa*, or the sense of individuality, was a necessary link in the production of individual pain and individual desire, the Nirvâṇa, or the extinction of desire and pain, was based upon the extinction of the sense of individuality; and modern writers have jumped to the conclusion that Nirvâṇa, which is ordinarily illustrated by the blowing out of a flame, meant the extinction of the man's nature or of the man's being, whereas it is only the termination of the *consumption* of that being, of its activity, its efforts, and self-destructive struggles. If the metaphor be rightly understood, it is not the

flame that is man's life, but the wick, and the flame is that which wastes it. In the latest period of literary Buddhism, speculation was full at work on a point which, as some writers would lead us to suppose, had been settled once for all by the Founder; and there is an instructive passage cited by Burnouf from the *Lankāvatāra* (a work which, in spite of its title, belongs to the northern or advanced school,) which bears witness to the variety of opinions held on the exact meaning of the term. "Men talk," said a disciple, "of the Nirvāṇa, the Nirvāṇa; what is this Nirvāṇa over which all the schools are wrangling?" "I will tell you," answered the Buddha, "what are the opinions of the various schools. There are those who define the Nirvāṇa as annihilation; they hold that it is attained by the suppression of the intellectual attributes and the senses, by indifference to the external world, by the cessation of all exercise of thought, by forgetfulness of all things, past, present and future; but those who hold this view never attain to Nirvāṇa. Some hold that it is the condition which supervenes, when we lose the view alike of the thinking subject and of the object of thought; others describe it as the imperishable substance of the soul; some place it in the distinction of the soul from outward things; some in the annihilation of moral distinctions; some in the perfect comprehension of truth; others in the reduction to substantial natures unmodified by attributes; some describe the Nirvāṇa as existence, others, as the knowledge of existence." I have omitted a few definitions, the meaning of which is very difficult to seize; and others which represent, with a slight shade of difference, some of those which I have given: but I have given enough to show that the question does *not* lie in a nut-shell; that a term explained by various schools as "existence," or "the perfect comprehension of truth," or "the imperishable substance of the soul," cannot be translated off-hand as "annihilation." Even where the term annihilation occurs, in the first definition, it is shown, by what follows, to be a relative or subjective annihilation, and to this view, in spite of the author's condemnation of it, he recurs in what seems to be the summing up of his own opinions,* and the notion into which all the various notions of Nirvāṇa tended to merge. In this view the continued existence of the thinking subject is a condition of the Nirvāṇa, which consists in the annihilation,

* True, he involves it with all the others in a sweeping condemnation; but this wantonness of negation is frequent in later Buddhism. "It is not true that A is B; it is not true that A is not B: it is not true that A is either B or not B; it is not true

that A is neither B nor not B." The position, as well as the unctuous tone of the definition to which I refer, seem to justify Burnouf in assuming it to be the author's *ex-cathedra* utterance.

relatively to that subject, of all phænomenal existence, — in the language of another school, the complete victory over *Mâyâ* or the delusive power which fills the mind with notions that correspond to nothing real. Nirvâna is thus a purely subjective change, it is not the annihilation of the person, or the distinction of personality, but the distinction of the person's belief in the existence of objects, including the thinking subject as an object of thought. The man who has entered Nirvâna exists, as far as we are concerned, as much as he ever existed ; it is only to his own mind that his existence has ceased, together with that of all other persons and things. This is quite intelligible so far ; the difficulty lies not in the notion of Nirvâna, but in the opinion that Nirvâna is a state in which the soul sees truth, and that therefore the soul's perception of its own non-existence is a true perception. When the glorified saint thinks, "This world is nothing, and I am nothing," the Hindu thinks that he is right ; but we, the disciples of Descartes, argue, or at least feel, that, if he can think at all, he must have a real existence, and that his perception of his own nothingness is a false one. We hold to the reality of the thinking subject, at least, which to the Hindu was not at all necessary. The doctrine of Nirvâna is thus based upon a mistaken or confused psychology ; but I must repeat that it implies no annihilation of the individual, merely his consciousness of the essential nothingness of all things, himself included.

In this analysis of the later and more settled conception of Nirvâna we have found that the extinction it points to, is an extinction of *ideas*, but those who are accustomed to trace a religion backward from its metaphysical to its moral stage, will find without surprise that, in the earlier monuments of Buddhism, the extinction most thought of is the extinction of *desires*. The *Dhammapada*, as Professor Max Müller shows (pp. xli—xliii), uses the word in both senses, but especially in the moral sense. It is rest or peace,—"When thou hast cut off passion and hatred, thou wilt go to Nirvâna ; and, "If, like a trumpet trampled under foot, thou utter not, then thou hast reached Nirvâna ; anger is not known in thee." It is "the quiet place," "the changeless place ;" it is even immortality, a very different notion from annihilation. Thus, to sum up, while in the earlier books, Nirvâna is merely a state of happiness especially characterized by freedom from all disturbing passions, (for, as to its positive joys, "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive" them) ; in the later stage it came to imply the freedom from all those conceptions which regulate, and therefore limit, the working of the human intellect—the conceptions of causation, of substance, and of individuality.

The character of the *Dhammapada* may have been inferred from what has been already said of its teaching upon a single point. It is essentially ethical ; it deals in a simple and popular way with such ideas as good and evil, pleasure and pain. If, now and then, some deep utterance of the Founder is cited, as seems to be the case in the first two verses and elsewhere, notably in vv. 153-4, it is carefully explained away in a strictly ethical sense. Thus, in the first verse, the words translated by Professor Max Müller "all that we are is the result of what we have thought," where "all that we are" paraphrases the highly technical term *dharma* (explained by Burnouf, "ce qui fait qu'une chose est ce qu'elle est, ce qui constitue sa nature propre,"* and compared by the Professor to its etymological equivalent *forma*,) make us fear that we are about to be carried into a region of transcendental speculation. But the explanation re-assures us : hatred comes from indulging thoughts of hate ; and if we consider that we must all come to an end in this world, our quarrels will cease ; the same plain old-world morality which in the more elaborate language of our century condemns those who

'do their little best to bite ;
And strive to make an inch of room
For their sweet selves, and cannot hear
The sullen Lethe rolling doom
On them and us and all things here.'

The other passage I have referred to is obviously a citation, and in its Æschylean grandeur and obscurity differs strikingly from the simplicity of its setting. "Without ceasing shall I run through a course of many births, looking for the maker of this tabernacle, — and painful is birth over and over again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen ; thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered ; the mind, being sundered, has attained to the extinction of all desires." The Buddha, in these striking words, uttered, it is said, at the moment of his emancipation, at once deifies and defies the cause of births, the law of the consequences of action ; the "maker of this tabernacle" is apparently only a personified moral force ; but, if the Buddha conceived him as a God, it was a God whom he had conquered. But this bold and striking outburst is followed in the *Dhammapada* by trite saws of worldly prudence, like the distichs in the *Hitopadesa*, or '*Poor Richard's Almanac*.' "Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained wealth in their youth, they perish like old herons in a lake without fish."

* Introduction, p. 42.

There is little sequence in the *Dhammapada*; the proverbs are strung at random like those of Solomon, or possess some artificial connection such as their use of a common metaphor, as in the chapter entitled "Flowers." Some are striking and well-turned, or display a thoughtful and tender, if not very profound, sentiment. For instance—I quote almost at random:—

"Death carries off a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village." *v.* 47.

"As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its colour and scent, so let the sage dwell upon earth." *v.* 49.

"He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him, *viz.*, life, beauty, happiness, power." *v.* 109.

"As a cowherd with his staff gathers his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death gather the life of man." *v.* 135.

"Kinsfolk, friends and lovers, salute a man who has been long away and returns safe from afar. In like manner his good works receive him who has done good, and has gone from this world to the other." *vv.* 219—220.

"He who applies himself to the doctrine of Buddha, brightens up this world like the moon when free from clouds." *v.* 382.

Some are quaint and ingenious:—

"If a fool be associated with a wise man all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup." *v.* 64.

"A man who has learnt little grows old like an ox; his flesh grows, but his knowledge does not grow." *v.* 152.

"A man is not an elder because his head is grey; his age may be ripe, but he is called 'old-in-vain.'" *v.* 260.

"If a man becomes fat and a great eater, if he is sleepy and rolls himself about, that fool, like a hog fed on wash, is born again and again." *v.* 325.

On the whole, it is clear that the morality of the Buddha was of the same sound and healthy order as that of other religious reformers who have risen in a reflective age. Religion in its primitive forms had nothing to do with morality; the two classes of conceptions were kept distinct; it was by sacrifice, not by upright and virtuous action, that the powers superior to man were conciliated. The history of Hebrew religion is the history of a struggle between these two principles,—between the priests proclaiming, as everywhere, the virtues of sacrifice and ceremonialism, and the prophets preaching their uselessness, and teaching that a right state of mind, with the right actions which necessarily flow from it, was that for which men should strive. Turning to India,

we find in the Rigveda little more than the germ of a moral conception of God ; men among themselves had of course their practical utilitarian conceptions of morality ; it was not good to steal, because, if you were caught, you would be punished ; but such a view required no sanction from heaven. In the first stage of Brahmanism, ceremony was still everything, and the sanction of religion was not yet given even to the simplest teachings of morality. Such teachings, however, were gathering force in men's hearts, and the great achievement of the Buddha, that which raises his character among the teachers of mankind to a position second only to the highest, was that he was the first in India to preach that the virtuous life is above all religious observance, that in it true religion consists. One of his most authentic utterances is that contained in verse 183 of the *Dhammapada*, which runs, "Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind—that is the teaching of the Awakened ;" coinciding, thought with thought, with St. James's definition of pure religion, and serving to measure the distance between the doctrine of Sākya Muni, and that of the authors, say, of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. In the course of time the genius of asceticism, which existed in Buddhism from the beginning, swallowed up much of the good result of its moral teaching ; and in the stories written to illustrate the *Dhammapada*, we find evidence of a Pharisaic spirit tending to reduce morality to a set of rigid rules, in which the letter was all, and the spirit nothing ; sometimes the author of the stories reproves this tendency, at other times he obviously yields to it. But in the text itself of the *Dhammapada* there is no paltering with formality, and Pharisaism is condemned as explicitly as in the Gospels.

V. 141 (directed against the characteristic displays of the asceticism of the period) :—"Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires." See also v. 394 :—"What is the use of platted hair, O fool ! what of the raiment of goatskins ? Within thee there is ravaging, but the heart thou makest clean."

V. 142.—"He who, though dressed in fine apparel, exercises tranquillity, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is a Brāhmaṇa, an ascetic (Sramaṇa), a friar (bhikshu)."

Vv. 264, 266.—Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man who speaks falsehood become a Sramaṇa ; can a man be a Sramaṇa who is still held captive by desire and greediness ? "A man is not a mendicant simply because he asks others for alms ; he who adopts the whole law is a Bhikshu, not he who only begs."

V. 364.—"He who dwells in the Law, delights in the Law, meditates on the Law, follows the Law, that Bhikshu will never all away from the true Law."

Perhaps the most interesting passage in the whole collection is the concluding chapter, which gives a picture of the Perfect man, the moral ideal of Buddhism, the Brâhmana as he is called—not of course the Brâhmana of race or profession, but the truly righteous man. The application of the term is curious, and helps us to realize the fact that Buddhism was not for some centuries openly antagonistic to the prevalent creed, but borrowed its technicalities, only putting on them its own interpretation. The edicts of Priyadarsi address themselves to Brâhmanas and Sramanas, giving precedence to the professors of orthodoxy, but here we have the word, captured as it were from the ranks of orthodoxy, just as Dissenting bodies who retain the formulæ of the Church put their own interpretation on the article, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The *Dhammapada* bears occasional marks of interpretation in passages of which the ascetic tendency is not only pronounced, but in opposition to the teaching of the rest of the book; and a phrase or two in this description of the true Brâhmana seems intended to glorify the religion of dirt: but apart from these passages, it pictures an elevated ideal. It insists on the true Brâhmana being one who has cut through the restraints of conventionality:—"He who has cut the girdle and the strap, the rope with all that pertains to it, he who has burst the bar, and is awakened, him I call indeed a Brâhmana," (v. 398): a similar feeling to that which underlies the favourite utterance of the painter-poet Blake, "Damn braces, bless relaxes." A few other phrases from this description are worth citing:—

"He who, though he has committed no offence, endures reproach, bonds and stripes, him, strong in endurance and powerful, I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 399.

"He whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way and the wrong, who has attained the highest end, him I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 403.

"He who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with faultfinders, free from passion among the passionate, him I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 406.

"He from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy, have dropped like a mustard seed from the point of an awl, him I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 407.

"He who after bearing all bondage to men, has risen above all bondage to the gods.....him I call indeed a Brâhmana." v. 417.

The last portion of the volume, the *Parables* of Buddhaghosha, translated by Captain Rogers, is less interesting to the critic than it would have been if the Burmese translation, which Captain Rogers used, had more closely resembled the Pâli original. As it is, numbers of minute touches are lost, and Captain Rogers is compelled to admit that he cannot make sense out of several

passages—mostly of a metaphysical character. His work is evidently carefully and conscientiously done, and, apart from a certain perhaps unavoidable Bowdlerism, appears to represent the Burmese quite closely enough. Some of the fables are silly and pointless, but most of them are grotesque and fanciful enough for comparison with the Aryan stock of folk-lore, with which indeed they have much in common. The story of the Unlucky Man, for instance, apart from its Buddhistic setting, would not be out of place in Hans Andersen, or Campbell's *Tales of the Western Highlands*, and probably those who are better acquainted with such matters than I can claim to be, would easily parallel it out of the Brothers Grimm. From the very day the child Lokatissa was conceived, the thousand fishermen of his village could not catch a single fish, and the village was seven times burnt down, and seven times had a fine imposed upon it by the King. The fishermen discovered whence their bad luck came,* and ejected the family which was responsible for it; and the child's very parents abandoned him as soon as he could walk alone, giving him a broken peice of pot which served as alms-bowl. As he grew up, he attained high rank in the priesthood, but his ill-luck never deserted him; he had not the attribute of attracting offerings, and at a time when liberality to priests was a virtue eagerly practised, he could never fill his belly. His begging-bowl had a way of looking quite full whenever people came to put offerings into it; but as soon as they had passed by, its contents would suddenly disappear. "My Lord Sariputta" took a great interest in the poor Lokatissa, who had by this time developed unusual spiritual perfections, so that "the light of the divine wisdom shone through him as through an earthen vessel." He determined to help him to a dinner, and went out begging with him. They got nothing, so Sariputta sent him away, on which all the people cried, "Here comes my Lord Sariputta," and hastened to make him offerings of food. Sariputta sent a quantity of the food to Lokatissa, but on the road to the monastery, the people who were carrying it forgot all about Lokatissa, and

* It is worth while to read how they discovered it. "The thousand fishermen divided themselves into two parties of five hundred each, which went out fishing separately. The fishermen who came from the quarter where the parents of the embryo Lokatissa resided, obtained nothing; but the other party of five hundred obtained abundance. The unsuccessful party of fishermen again divided themselves into two parties of two

hundred and fifty each, and again the party to which the embryo child belonged obtained nothing. In this way they continued to subdivide till at last the house of the parents of the embryo Lokatissa was alone in its misfortune; then the thousand fishermen, perceiving that the degenerate being must belong to that man's house, expelled the family from the village." pp. 164-5.

eat it up themselves. Lokatissa's adventures in search of a dinner did not end here; but they were finally crowned by success; and on that very day he happily attained Nirvâṇa, and the great Buddha, pronouncing his funeral discourse, expatiated on the circumstances in one of his previous lives which had been punished by his ill-luck in this.

The story of Queen Samavati is noteworthy not only from the variety of its incidents, but also from the fact that we possess it in a non-Buddhist guise. A great part of the story is to be found in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*—a work some five or six centuries later in date—with all the distinctive Buddhist colouring omitted. A monstrous bird—called by the Buddhist *Hattilinga*, by the Brâhmanist *Garuda*—carries off a queen Samavati or Mrigavati, deceived by her red colour into supposing her to be a piece of flesh. The red colour is ascribed by our narrator to a scarlet cloak; the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* more ingeniously explains the cause of the lady's having bathed in a crimson dye. When the bird finds that she is living, he abandons her on the fork of a tree (or on a precipice), and both stories agree that she is in what Captain Rogers calls the family way; that she gave birth to a son called Udayana or Udena (of which name quite distinct etymologies are given); and that a hermit took mother and child to his cell, and brought up the son. The stories here diverge considerably, but in both of them the boy Udena obtains a wonderful lute, by which he could charm elephants, and in both he is taken captive by the device of a wooden elephant filled with warriors, like the wooden horse of Ilium, which refused to acknowledge the spell. He becomes king of the Kausambhî country, and obtains a daughter of the king of Ujjayinî; and one other queen, says the Brahmanist; the Buddhist gives him two others, and presents a lively account of the intrigues of one of the three against another who was an earnest convert to Buddhism—an account which in more points than one parallels the domestic history of king Asoka, as recounted by Burnouf from the *Divya avadāna*. As in that history, the lady whose viciousness comes to light, is put to death with horrible tortures, which do not seem in these exceptional instances of foes to the faith, to shock the traditional benevolence of the Buddhist annalist.*

Of course a large proportion of the stories, which belong to a period somewhat late in Buddhism, when the priestly spirit had become predominant, tend to proclaim the glories of asceticism, the benefits of liberality to the priesthood, and the punishments which unavoidably fall upon all who meddle with Church property. But on the whole the morality is genuine, and displays a healthy

* Asoka's queen is burnt alive; flesh, fried in oil. The actions of the lady in Buddhaghosha's story is kings are no sure test of the morality compelled to eat strips of her own of a time or of a sect.

hatred of sin. Covetousness is punished as theft; lying is the greatest of sins; those who meddle with other men's wives boil in a hell-cauldron. The doctrine of transmigration furnishes unelaborate machinery for the accurate measurement of suitable punishment. That the stories are not deficient in a pathetic feeling for the sufferings of humanity, is amply proved by the extract with which I shall close this notice, and which I feel sure will attract the reader's sympathy. A young bride has given birth to a son. "When the boy was able to walk by himself, he died. The young girl, in her love for it, carried the dead child clasped to her bosom, and went about from house to house asking if any one would give her some medicine for it. When the neighbours saw this, they said, "Is the young girl mad that she carries about on her breast the dead body of her son?" But a wise man, thinking to himself, "Alas! this Kisâgotamî does not understand the law of death, I must comfort her," said to her:—"My good girl I cannot myself give medicine for it, but I know of a doctor who can attend to it." The young girl said, "If so, tell me who it is." The wise man continued, "Parâ Taken can give medicine, you must go to him."

"Kisâgotamî went to Parâ Taken, and doing homage to him, said:—"Lord and master, do you know any medicine that will be good for my boy?" Parâ Taken replied, "I know of some." She asked, "What medicine do you require?" He said, "I want a handful of mustard seed." The girl promised to procure it for him, but Parâ Taken continued, "I require some mustard seed taken from a house where no son, husband, parent, or slave has died." The girl said, "Very good," and went to ask for some at different houses, carrying the dead body of her son astride on her hip. The people said, "Here is some mustard seed, take it." Then she asked, "In my friend's house has there died a son, a husband, a parent, or a slave?" They replied, "Lady, what is this that you say? The living are few, but the dead are many." Then she went to other houses, but one said, "I have lost a son;" another, "I have lost my parents;" another, "I have lost my slave." At last, not being able to find a single house where no one had died, from which to procure the mustard seed, she began to think, "This is a heavy task that I am engaged in. I am not the only one whose son is dead. In the whole of the Sâvatthi country, everywhere children are dying, parents are dying." Thinking thus, she acquired the law of fear, and putting away her affection for her child, she summoned up resolution, and left the dead body in a forest; then she went to Parâ Taken and paid him homage. He said to her, "Have you procured the handful of mustard seed?" "I have not," she replied; "the people of the village told me, The living are few, but the dead are many." Parâ Taken said to her, "You thought that you alone had lost a son; the law of

death is that among all living creatures there is no permanence." When Parâ Taken had finished preaching the law, Kisâgotamî was established in the reward of Sotâpatti; and all the assembly who heard the law were also established in the reward of Sotâpatti." (pp. 100-101.)

WILFRED L. HEELEY.

ART. V.—COWELL'S TAGORE LAW LECTURES—
THE HINDU FAMILY.

THE HINDU LAW: *Being a Treatise on the Law administered exclusively to Hindus by the British Courts in India.* By Herbert Cowell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Tagore Law Professor. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870.

THE investigation of the past and present condition of Hindu law has a two-fold interest. In the first place, the student of history is enchanted to find himself face to face with the elements of an archaic civilization which has been handed down almost intact from pre-historic times. He contemplates with mixed feelings of curiosity and veneration, those vestiges of a primitive society which are disclosed to us in the constitution of the Hindu family and the village community. Facts which are ordinarily the subject of antiquarian research are here daily before his eyes, and serve to throw a flood of light on the early history of the institutions and practices of the rest of the world. On the other hand, the social reformer cannot but regard with a feeling of sorrow the stereotyped character of those institutions, which, while they are of immemorial usage, are in many respects radically opposed to all freedom of thought or action. He will watch with anxiety the struggle that would seem to be inevitable between modern progress and the conservatism of a huge and powerful, though antiquated, system,—a system which had its birth in the religious instincts of a nation, was nursed in priestcraft, and matured by the veneration of ages, and which has at the present day almost as tight a hold on the feelings and sympathies of the people as in the time of Manu. But, more than all, will such a man, especially if he be a European, be interested in estimating the result that must ensue from the contact of such a system with an enlightened foreign civilization. The administration of Hindu Law by English judges cannot but be attended with important effects upon the tone and principles of the law itself. The changes may be gradual and unobtrusive, but they will be none the less certain and sure.

It was not more out of respect to the memory of the founder than in the interests of legal science that the Senate of the University of Calcutta resolved that the first course of the Tagore Law Lectures should treat of that branch of law, in illumining the obscurities of which the late Babu Prosonno Coomar Tagore was himself a burning and a shining light, and with which his name will always be identified. Mr. Cowell's first volume is now before us, and fully justifies, as we think, the choice which the Senate made of a Professor. The present course treats, as an Introductory

Course should treat, of the Hindu Family — the salient point of the whole Hindu system. Though the book has its faults, it is scarcely too much to say that Mr. Cowell has succeeded in a remarkable degree in proving himself to be master of his subject, and in realizing the full significance of the principles which he undertakes to discuss. In defining the task which he sets himself, we cannot do better than use the Professor's own words. He says, he proposes to treat of

'those rules or principles of law which are at the present day applicable exclusively to Hindus, and are so recognized and acted upon by the highest Courts of Justice established by the English Legislature and Government. With Hindu Law, as it may have been ages ago, or as it was originally declared by the ancient authorities, we have to do only as with the ancient frame-work of historic society. The early precepts of the Hindu lawgivers have been controlled by the vicissitudes of experience; and the rules of law which at the present day govern the lives and property of Hindus depend partly upon the doctrines received by the various schools of interpretation of the sacred text, partly upon the usages which have obtained in particular classes or localities, and are adapted to existing habits and customs, subject to such modifications, changes and improvements as have been from time to time introduced during the last century by the action of the English Legislature and the decisions of English Courts.' (pp. 2—3.)

In this passage Mr. Cowell explains his object to be, to exhibit Hindu law as actually in force at the present day in Bengal. This object is strictly kept in view throughout the work—sometimes to rather an aggravating degree. Questions which the general reader would like to see argued on their own merits, and with some reference to the theoretical character of Hindu law, are disposed of by quoting a decision of an English Court, which is regarded as a final settlement of the points at issue. But on maturer reflection the line adopted will probably be found to be not only justifiable, but far more likely to secure the end which the University has in view, than had Mr. Cowell indulged more freely than he has done in learned antiquarian disquisitions upon the primitive Hindus and their ancient customs and usages. The University wants a text-book for the use of its students, giving a general, though not necessarily an exhaustive, view of the subject. It desires to see the law set forth as it is in practice, "with a view to the ultimate formation of a body of Institutes of Indian Law." Its instructions have been carried out to the letter, and the Syndicate, we imagine, will have no cause to be dissatisfied with the specimen of the work which is now before us.

Mr. Cowell brings to his task an easy and graceful style, which only halts here and there, when the printer is probably more to blame than the Professor.

On their assumption of the administrative charge of this country, the English guaranteed to the natives of India the observance of their own laws and customs in matters civil and religious. The privilege in question dates from about 1772, and it was subsequently enacted in various regulations of the three Presidencies. In Bengal, the law on the subject is contained in Regulation IV of 1793, Section 15, which provides that, "in suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, the Muhammadan laws with respect to Muhammadans, and the Hindu law with regard to Hindus, are to be considered as the general rules by which the Judges are to form their decisions. In the respective cases (it is added) the Muhammadan and Hindu law officers* of the Court are to attend to expound the law." These important privileges were confirmed to the natives on the supersession of the East India Company by the authority of the Crown.

It has been ably demonstrated by Mr. Maine, in his history of ancient law, that all the primitive codes of which we have any knowledge are pervaded with a strong religious element. Whether we look among the Jews and Hindus of the East, or the Greeks and Romans of the West, we find abundant evidence of the fact that religious, moral and civil ordinances are blended together in all the earliest systems of law. It was not until the human intellect began to acquire distinctive ideas regarding obligations which were strictly legal, those which were purely moral, and those which appealed to man's religious instincts, that the rule of law began to be distinguished from the rule of religion. Originally no such discrimination was observed. This is emphatically the case with the laws of Manu—the *Mánava Dharma Sástra*—which primarily constitute the basis upon which the superstructure of Hindu law has been erected. That code, as every one knows, is believed to be of divine origin. As Babu Shamachurn Sircar says, "It is regarded by us Hindus as next in sanctity to our Scriptures, the *Vedas*, and is the oldest of the memorial laws" (*smriti*). Accordingly, we find that religious observances and ceremonials occupy a prominent position in Manu's code. As in the Pentateuch, laws of inheritance stand side by side with the rites of purification from defilement. No intelligent Englishman can have read the books of Moses without being struck by the curious manner in which ordinances, civil and religious, are enunciated without any sort of order or arrangement. We need go no further than the decalogue for an apt illustration of the manner in which moral and religious obligations are confounded. It is precisely the same with the laws of the Hindus.

* These officers were abolished by Act XI of 1861.

Legal and religious duties are not only prescribed in the same code, but the one are intimately bound up with and made to depend on the other. We shall have to discuss two eminent examples of this in the manner in which the right of succession in a Hindu family is dependent on the performance of the obsequies of the deceased, and in the extent to which the validity of adoption is affected by the omission of certain ceremonial rites.

With the progress of society in the West, the law of God and the law of man have by degrees come to be discriminated. Religion and morality no longer form the subject of statutory ordinance, but are left to the conscience of the individual. Not that we are yet altogether free from the effects of past superstition. There are many people in England at the present day who regard the institution of marriage as a sacrament, and even more who would not feel satisfied that they were legally married, if not in a Church and by a priest. It is not long since many of our laws used to be defended by the authority of the Pentateuch. But, nevertheless, the tendency has always been to separate the idea of what is due to God from those laws and rules which are artificially constructed for the well-being of society. In the East, however, as Mr. Maine has pointed out, the tendency of the ruling oligarchies was to be religious rather than military or political; and thus the religious element in Oriental systems of law has been preserved for a much longer period and to a greater extent than in the West. Even in historic times, a Muhammadan law has been constructed which is almost synonymous with the Muhammadan faith. And the laws of the Hindus, dating back from the misty age of Manus and Mahárshis, are now as much as ever based upon a frame-work of religious rites and ceremonials. For, numerous as have been the successive expositors of, and commentators upon, Hindu law, they have all followed in the footsteps of their predecessors in this respect. The authority of the priestly caste has been studiously maintained. Neither foreign dynasties nor social revolutions have succeeded in bringing about any innovations in the law. Manu's Institutes have been stereotyped upon the character and institutions of the people. Schools have arisen, as was to be expected, with the conflicting interpretation of doubtful passages; but no school would venture to assert that its doctrines were not in strict accordance with the commands of the primitive legislators. Only in the Bengal school does some approach seem to have been made towards a right apprehension of the distinction between the rule of morality and the rule of law. It is unnecessary in this place to indicate the doctrines either of this or of any other of the five schools into which Hindu law is divided at the present day. But we may be permitted to remark that

the whole tendency of the Bengal school is to discriminate between what is strictly legal and what has merely moral force. An act may be wrong, say the professors of that school, but "a fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts." The moral and civil laws are distinct, and you may break the one without infringing the other. As Mr. Cowell remarks, these doctrines

'indicate a considerable advance in the development of Hindu jurisprudence. Without pretending to break away from or ignore the authority of the earlier sages, the founders of the Bengal school distinctly assert the superiority of legal to moral duties in the eye of the legislator, and begin the separation between religion and law. They further break in upon the old communal system of property, and insist upon the separate personal and proprietary rights of the individual in a manner which innovates upon the old theory and practice of joint family life. The authority of the old texts, and the reverence felt by the nation for its inspired law-givers, were not sufficient to impede the influence of advancing civilization, or to prevent the introduction of these two important changes. They serve to indicate to us the direction in which Hindu law has manifested a natural tendency to develop itself.' (p. 19.)

The administration of such a law as we have described, by English judges, could not fail to be a problem of the highest interest. Mr. Cowell very truly remarks:—

'Its administration by an alien race would, no doubt, be a crisis in the history of the law of any people that ever existed. And with regard to Hindus it has had this considerable result, which has not been without great influence, that it separated at once and widely the functions of the judge and of the priest, and terminated the influence, or at least the ascendancy, of the religious oligarchy which up to that time had monopolised the knowledge and administration of the law.' (p. 17.)

We shall have occasion further on to notice particular instances in which the principles of Hindu law seem to have been affected in consequence of its having been administered by a foreign and more highly civilized race. The question involved is an important one, concerning, as it does, the stability of our promises on the one hand, and on the other the progress of the people in civilization. It is the old struggle that is going on in all departments of the social system—the struggle between a blind and superstitious conservatism and the more enlightened ideas which have been introduced by Western science and religion. Mr. Cowell boldly ranges himself on the side of progress. For so doing we may fully expect to see him charged with a want of sympathy with the people. But, considering the end and object of these Lectures, we think his manner of treating his subject is the right one. He is evidently a firm believer in the scientific principles enunciated by Mr. Maine, and he shows considerable skill, we think, in applying

them to the institutions of Hinduism. There is much force, for instance, in the following remarks :—

‘ In securing to the Hindus the observance of their shasters as their right, it never could have been intended that their laws and usages should be for ever stereotyped and imposed upon them as an unalterable obligation, by a power which was to be incapable by its own compact of altering or modifying them as occasion might require. There must, in the ordinary course of things, be some room for their gradual growth, and their constant adaptation to the changing circumstances of time and society. * * * Religion should be left as much as possible to rest upon opinion, and to be modified by surrounding influences. * * * It is in accordance with the tendency and the later teaching of Hindu legislation to consult their religious doctrines in order to ascertain the rights which spring out of, or are founded upon and limited by them, but not for the purpose of actively enforcing any obligation. The authority of religion and priests may be left to support itself without the indirect protection afforded by English Courts insisting upon the rigid celebration of sacrifices and ceremonies as essential to civil rights. It is not always easy to draw the line between securing, on the one hand, to Hindus their usages as their rights, and, on the other hand, continuing to impose them as burdens while they are or would be losing vitality and influence.’ (pp. 26—27.)

We think Mr. Cowell is perfectly justified in keeping these facts constantly in view, and that they add considerable value to his dissertations on Hindu Law. Such a work as that before us should be based on the most liberal principles, so as to aid the Courts rather than fetter them in the administration of an antiquated and conservative code, and, as a text-book, to accustom the mind of the student to the nature and reason of the changes which time and education must necessarily bring about in the legal institutions of the country. In the end, such a view of the law will be more conducive to its stability and continuance than were it still to be made to rest on an unreasonable basis which cannot possibly withstand the shocks of an enlightened civilization. A spirit of enquiry is abroad among Hindus in the present day that will test everything to its foundations, and whatever is found to depend and draw its life out of silly or idolatrous superstitions, is doomed to be swept away with the superstitions themselves. If Hindu law is to preserve the sanctity in which it has always been enveloped, it must dissociate itself from whatever is unable to resist this freedom of thought, and seek a firmer basis on more reasonable and scientific principles.

Another point on which Mr. Cowell dwells with some force is the tendency of modern legislation to substitute the individual for the community—“the gradual dissolution of family dependency, and the growth of individual rights and obligations in its place.” In his excellent treatise on *Ancient Law*, Mr. Maine has pointed

out the important part which the Family has always played in the earliest systems of jurisprudence. He explains that everywhere (so far as we know) in the infancy of society, the family is the unit of which the civil laws take account. By degrees the individual comes to be substituted for the family, just as the principle of local contiguity gradually supersedes that of consanguinity as the basis of political union. But, originally, or at least as far back as we can trace the history of jurisprudence, the laws seem to recognize no lesser unit (so to speak) than a group of a certain number of persons, whose interests, rights and responsibilities in the eye of the law are one and undivided. Traces of the stage of civilization in which the family occupied the position which is now-a-days filled by the individual, have been handed down to us in the history of Roman jurisprudence; and, what is of equal if not greater value for purposes of scientific and historical research, a similar state of things is in actual existence around us in India at the present day. The joint family is the most curious and essential feature of Hindu law.

To the Western mind, accustomed to the independence and individuality of European habits, the spectacle of a Hindu family, 'joint in food, worship and estate,' cannot be otherwise than an interesting phenomenon. In England, it is usual to see a young man, on attaining a certain age, start on a career of independence, owning no further allegiance to his family than may be dictated by moral considerations or the instincts of affection. So soon as his education is complete, he begins to support himself by the labour of his head or hands, and would think it degrading to be beholden to the exertions of others. On marriage, if not before, he quits the paternal roof and sets up a separate establishment. And his children, as they grow up, form similar homes of their own.

In India the case is quite different. The Hindu family lives together joint and undivided, generation after generation. Fathers, sons, uncles, cousins, with all their wives, widows and children, collateral branches as well as those in the direct line, have a right to reside, and often do reside, in the same family mansion.*

* Ward says:—"A grandfather with his children and grandchildren, in a direct line, amounting to nearly fifty persons, may sometimes be found in one family." And he adds the following in a note:—

"Jugunnat'ha-Tarkku-Punchanund, who lived to be about 117 years of age, and was well known as the most learned man of his time, had a family of seventy or eighty indivi-

duals, among whom were his sons and daughters, grandsons, great-grandsons and a great-great-grandson. In this family, for many years, when, at a wedding or on any other occasion, the ceremony called the *sraddha* was to be performed, as no ancestors had deceased, they called the old folks and presented their offerings to them." Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 196. We are ourselves acquainted with more

They are supported by the ancestral estate held in common, generally, if not always, consisting of land, out of which each member of the family is entitled to maintenance. To quote the words of Mr. Justice Markby :—

‘ No obligation exists on any one member to stir a finger if he does not feel so disposed, either for his own benefit or for that of the family ; if he does so, he gains thereby no advantage ; if he does not do so, he incurs no responsibility, nor is any member restricted to the share which he is to enjoy prior to the division. A member of the joint-family has only a right to demand that a share of the existing family property should be separated and given to him ; and so long as the family union remains unmodified, the enjoyment of the family property is in the strictest sense common ; as against each other, the members of the family have no rights whatever, except that I have mentioned, and the only remedy for a dissatisfied member is by partition.’*

According to the theory of Hindu law, indeed, no man can be regarded as an integral and independent unit of society—he is only a component member of a family group. His life is interwoven with that of others by a complicated chain of religious observances and legal rights and responsibilities. The law is based upon the communal principle and deals with the family as a whole. And it is curious to observe how this communal principle not only pervades the whole living group, but even extends so far as to associate the living with the dead. The ceremony of the *śrāddha*, of which we shall have to speak, and at which funeral oblations are offered to certain sets of ancestors, is merely a rite significative of the communistic idea which is supposed to be superior even to the stern decrees of fate.

As a matter of fact, this theory of Hindu law is not always carried into practice in the present day. As the family increases, the common residence may be enlarged, and for purposes of convenience the same building may be partitioned among the different branches of the family. But it is not uncommon now-a-days for members of the family to leave the ancestral mansion and set up establishments on their own account. In the same way family dissensions (which are perhaps one of the worst consequences of the Hindu family system) or other causes may lead to the partition of the common estate. The dissemination of Western ideas, and the example of Anglo-Saxon independence, have also doubtless had their due effect in hastening the disruption of the family system as it originally existed. But the theory still penetrates every department of Hindu law, and it is not in the power of any Hindu to free himself from its influence in this respect.

than one family in Calcutta which has been undivided for five generations past, and the members of which

number above two hundred souls.

* *S. M. Ranganmani Dasi v. Kasinath Dutt*, 3 B. L. R., o. c. 1.

But the question remains, What is a Hindu family in the eye of the law, and what constitutes the legal relationship? It is obvious that, in any state of society like that we have been considering, in which the law deals with families or groups rather than with individuals, some rule or other is necessary to define the family limits.

The natural tie of relationship is of course that of blood. All the descendants of a married pair are related by consanguinity. Every man has a set of blood relations on his father's side, and another set on that of his mother. It is clear then that, if families are to be kept distinct — if, so to say, there is to be any principle of individuality in the idea of a family, some artificial line must be drawn beyond which the family limits shall not pass. One method of defining the family, the simplest and probably the most primitive, was to cut off at a single stroke, as it were, the whole of a man's maternal relations. In the old Roman law, the family limits were defined by the principle of the *patria potestas*, the effect of which was to confine the legal *familia* to the *agnates*, or those who were or might have been subject to the same *patria potestas*, as opposed to the *cognates* or blood relations. Thus, a daughter on marriage passed into the power of her husband, and though still cognate to her own father, ceased to belong to his family of agnates. So, in Hindu law, we find a principle according to which the legal limits of the family are defined. This principle is the right to perform the obsequies of the dead.

After what has been said above of the extent to which religion enters into all the earliest systems of law, it will not surprise the reader to find that the Hindu idea of a family is constructed upon a religious rather than a civil or natural basis. The worship of ancestors, whatever may have been its origin, has undoubtedly been widely prevalent at one time or other of the world's history. Not only among the Hindus, but among the Greeks, the Romans,*

* Besides the principal sacrifice to the dead, which took place on the ninth day after death (*énvata*), the Greeks were in the habit of making offerings on certain fixed days of the year. The *γενέσια* are supposed to have been annual offerings presented on the birth-day of the deceased, and the *νεκύσια* similar rites on the anniversary of his death. "The Romans, like the Greeks, were accustomed to visit the tombs of their relations at certain periods, and to offer to them sacrifices and various gifts which were called *Inferiæ* and *Parentalia*. The Romans appear to have regarded

the manes or departed souls of their ancestors as gods, whence arose the practices of presenting to them oblations, which consisted of victims, wine, milk, garlands of flowers and other things. The tombs were sometimes illuminated on these occasions with lamps. In the latter end of the month of February there was a festival called *Feralia*, in which the Romans were accustomed to carry food to the sepulchres for the use of the dead." *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Art. *Funus*. The great sacrifice at a Roman funeral was also on the ninth day and was

and other nations, was such worship practised. Traces of it, we think, may even be found in the Old Testament. It exists among the Chinese at the present day, and among the Hindus it supplies the principle on which the legal family is artificially marked off from the more comprehensive group of blood relations.

The *śrāddha* is now-a-days perhaps the most solemn of Hindu ceremonies. Its due celebration at frequent seasons is enjoined upon all. Its omission is believed to entail the most evil consequences. It is intimately associated with the Hindu belief in a future state, and the priestly caste has not failed to take advantage of the circumstance to add to its own power and importance.* But, more than this, it regulates the succession to property and lies at the foundation of the whole legal system. As Mr. Cowell says:—

‘The *Śrāddha* fills as large a space in the life of the Hindu as the festival of the Passover did in that of the Jews. The frequency with which it is or used to be performed, the minuteness of the details which are prescribed, and the long duration of its hold on the national mind, and the extent to which it has influenced the condition of their law, show the depth of the importance which, throughout Hindu history, has been attached to it in the minds both of priests and people. It is the great primeval institution of Hindu civilization, and has not merely expressed, but has powerfully influenced, the character and spirit of the people who have for ages clung to its impressive and prolonged observances as a consecration of that deep religious and domestic sentiment which distinguishes them amongst mankind. The spirit displayed in them is unfavourable to the creation of individual will and independence, and largely influences the personal relations, or rights and duties, of members of the family. It would be impossible that a Hindu father who enters upon his position as head of the joint-family, by offering those indispensable obsequies to his helpless ancestors, knowing that he too in his turn will be equally dependent in the future on his descendants, could imbibe any very resolute sense of dominion such as the old principle of the *patria potestas* gave to the Roman. Obligation, instead of power, is the chief characteristic of his position from the first to the last.’ (pp. 77—78.)

Every one who has lived in India must have been struck with the importance which is attached by all classes to the marriage state. While in England we hear only exhortations against early or imprudent marriages, native opinion in this country insists on the necessity which each man is under to contract matrimony as soon as possible, and regards its omission as almost a crime. There are several reasons for this opinion. For the female sex, marriage is declared to be indispensable. For the

called *Novendiale*.

* The word *śrāddha* means that which is believed, or an act of faith.

And it would not be far wrong to call what is the *śrāddha par excellence*, the creed or faith of the Hindus.

twice-born classes it constitutes the final and most important of the ceremonies which are considered necessary to expiate the sinful taint which every person is supposed to have contracted in his mother's womb. For Sudras and women* it is the only ceremony of regeneration that is permissible or necessary. Moreover, in a system like that of the Hindus, which, as we have seen, mainly regards society as composed of an aggregate of families, immense importance must necessarily attach to the duty of continuing the father's name and lineage to succeeding generations. Nor is this all. The secular motive was further strengthened by religious belief. The Hindu was scrupulously taught that his spiritual welfare after death depended upon the performance of certain ceremonies by his son. "By a son a man obtains victory over all people; by a son's son, he enjoys immortality; and afterwards, by the son of that grandson, he reaches the solar abode. Since the son (*tráyate*) delivers his father from the hell named *put*, he was therefore called *put-trá* by Bráhmá himself."† And in describing the rules of inheritance, the same authority says:—"By the eldest at the moment of his birth, the father having begotten a son discharges his debt to his own progenitors; * * * that son alone, by whose birth he discharges his debt, and through whom he attains immortality, was begotten from a sense of duty, &c."‡ So indispensable indeed was a son considered for the due performance of the obsequies, that, if nature failed to provide offspring, another's son might be adopted—the adopter thereby rescuing many ancestors, for, by the omission to provide a son, a man was supposed to injure others as well as himself. There were certain torments to be delivered from, certain stages of blessedness to be attained, and the pious services of descendants, as far as the third degree at least, were necessary for the purpose. So inextricably was the necessity of raising up offspring interwoven with the being of every individual. It is true that in this, as in many other points, the *Sástras* themselves are not quite consistent. In default of a son, the obsequies may be celebrated by the widow or the nearest male relative, but not, as is supposed, with the same spiritual virtue; while it is clear that, in such a case, the benefits to be derived from the pious offices of future generations cannot be attained.

There are two kinds of *sráddha* or funeral obsequies, which must not be confounded with each other. The *ekodishta sráddha* is the ceremony performed in honour of a single person who

* "The nuptial ceremony is considered as the complete institution of women, ordained for them in the Veda," &c., Manu, ii. 67.

† Manu, ix. 137—8. The etymology given is not supported by modern philologists.

‡ Manu, ix. 106—7,

has lately deceased ; the *párvana sráddha* is a similar ceremony in honour of the family progenitors. The former is, or ought in strict accordance with the *Sástras* to be, celebrated sixteen times within the year following the death of the person in whose honour it is performed. The first *ekodishta sráddha* takes place on the eleventh day (thence called *ekádasi*) after the cremation of the corpse ; the last, called the *sapindikarana*, on the anniversary of the day of decease—twelve monthly and two biennial *sráddhas* being performed in the interim. In the first ceremony, Colbrooke says, the object in view is “to effect by means of oblations the re-embodiment of the soul of the deceased after burning his corpse.” The succeeding ceremonies are intended “to raise the shade of the deceased from this world (where it would else, according to the notions of the Hindus, continue to roam among demons and evil spirits) up to heaven, and there beatify him, as it were, among the manes of his departed ancestors.” When the deceased has left an only son, however, it is usual to curtail these ceremonies, and the *sapindikarana* is performed within two or three days of the first or *ádya sráddha*—the reason being that in the event of an accident happening to the son before the celebration of the *sapindikarana*, the salvation of the soul of the deceased would be jeopardised.* During the continuance of the *ekodishta sráddhas*, the *párvana sráddha* is held to be in abeyance ; but the last of the sixteen, or *sapindikarana*, is a double ceremony, combining an *ekodishta sráddha* with a *párvana sráddha*. On that occasion the deceased is associated with his ancestors, and thenceforth he is denominated a *pitri*. As many as ninety-six occasions in the year are prescribed for the performance of the *párvana sráddha*, but, as Mr. Cowell observes, general custom is content with its observance on the last night of the moon preceding the Durga Puja (the *Maháláyá*), and on the occasion of visiting places of pilgrimage.

The ritual prescribed for observance at an *ekodishta sráddha* is intricately detailed, and somewhat tedious in the recital. It mainly consists in offering oblations of food and raiment to the deceased, intermixed with invocations, the supposed effect of which is to rehabilitate his soul. The figure of a Brahman, constructed of *kusa* grass, is regarded as an object of worship throughout the ceremony, and offerings are also made to the *sálgrám* or household god and other deities. The distribution of food and presents among the assembled Brahmans is no unimportant part of the ceremony. Indeed, as is the case in the Romish Church to the present day, the greater the expense incurred on these occa-

* The souls of those whose *sapindikarana* has not been performed, are supposed to roam about the earth as ghosts (*pret*). An intelligent native

gentleman assured the writer that this is the reason “why we are troubled with ghosts so much !”

sions, and the more munificent the contributions to the service of the priests, the more meretorious is the ceremony supposed to be. The unscrupulous way in which money is sometimes dissipated on the occasion of a *śrāddha* is almost as scandalous as the extravagance of Hindu weddings.

At the *pārvana śrāddha* three cakes (*pinda*) are offered to the father, paternal grandfather, and great-grandfather of the worshipper, and three to the maternal grandfather, his father and grandfather; the remnants of the oblations being offered to the three remoter ancestors of each line. At the last *ekodishta śrāddha* (with which, as we have said, is combined a *pārvana śrāddha*) the *pinda*, or funeral cake, which is prepared as an oblation to the deceased, is divided into three portions and mixed with the cakes offered to his three ancestors, thus signifying his association with their manes, whence also the name of the ceremony, the *sapindikarana*.

It remains now to see in what way the funeral obsequies operate to limit the legal idea of a Hindu family. Mr. Cowell has illustrated this part of his subject with remarkable clearness. In general terms it may be said that the Hindu family includes all who give, receive, or share the funeral cake or *pinda* — all such being designated in consequence as *sapinda** to each other. Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter says that "the principle is based upon the theory according to which a Hindu is supposed to participate† after his death in the funeral oblations that are offered by any one of his surviving relations to some common ancestor to whom he himself was bound to offer them while living; and hence it is that the man who gives the oblations, and the man who receives them, and the man who participates in them, are all recognized as *sapindas* of each other." Now the right to share the funeral cake is limited to three degrees in the direct line. "To three (ancestors) must water be given at their obsequies; for three (the father, his father and the paternal grandfather) is the funeral cake ordained; the fourth (in descent) is the giver (of oblations to them); but the fifth has no concern (with the gift of the funeral cake.)"‡ Thus a Hindu is bound to offer the *pinda* to his father, grandfather and great-grandfather in the paternal line, and he in turn may expect to receive it from his son, his grandson and his great-grandson. All these, therefore, comprising seven degrees, are *sapindas*, and constitute the innermost family circle. The family also comprehends all those who present

* The Sanskrit prefix 'sa' is equivalent to the Latin 'con,' as in consanguinity. communal idea of the family is preserved even after death.

† Manu, x. 186.

‡ It is curious to note how the

the *pinda* to the same ancestor, and thus various collateral branches are included. Brothers and their sons and grandsons are all *sapinda* to each other, inasmuch as they all offer the *pinda* to the same father.

Again, a woman being incapacitated from the performance of her father's obsequies, the duty devolves upon her son. Besides the relationship therefore established with his father's family, a Hindu is always *sapinda* to his maternal family, inasmuch as he offers the *pinda* to the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of his mother. In relation to his mother's family he is also designated a *bandhu*, i.e., a kinsman sprung from a different family but allied by funeral oblations; but the peculiarity of the law consists in this, that the relationship is strictly personal, being limited to the mother's sons only, and neither shared by their sisters nor transmitted to their sons.

Outside the family circle of *sapindas* lie a more distant set of kinsmen who are called *sakúlyas*.* These are the three generations in ascent and descent beyond the *sapindas*. They are said to "share the remains of the oblation wiped off with *kusa* grass." And, lastly, outside and beyond these again, lie the *samanodakas* or "kindred connected by libations of water; and they must be understood to reach to seven degrees beyond the kindred connected by funeral oblations of food, or else as far as the limits of knowledge as to birth and name extend."† These three series of kinsmen—the *sapindas*, *sakúlyas* and *samanodakas*—together constitute the *gotra*, or Hindu *gens*.

Mr. Cowell contrasts the constitution of a Hindu family connected by the *pinda*, with the Roman *familia* of *agnati* owning subjection to the same *patria potestas*. He points out two circumstances in particular in which they differ. The Roman *familia* included all who were or might have been subject to the same *patria potestas*. All such were agnates of each other. Originally, females who married, and males who were transferred by adoption into other families, ceased to belong to the *familia* in which they were born; but "in the time of Justinian the tie of *agnatio* came to be regarded as more indissoluble, and then the agnates included all who were related to one another through the males. The married females and the sons who had been adopted into other families remained the agnates of the family of their birth; though, of course, their descendants were excluded." It is obvious, therefore, that the Roman *familia* was unlimited in the direct line of ascent and descent in the male branch, while females and their descendants were altogether excluded by marriage. But in the Hindu

* The term *sapinda* is sometimes the *sakúlyas*.
used in a wide sense so as to include † *Mitakshara*, ii. 6. 6.

family system there are certain stages which mark off, as it were, different degrees of kinship, and limit the family tie in the direct line. The kindred within three degrees, that is, as far as the *proavus* in ascent, and the *pronepos* in descent, with the collateral branches, constitute the inner circle of *sapindas*; the three generations beyond these, that is, as far as the *tritavus* and *trinepos*, form an outer circle of *sakúlyas*, beyond whom again lie the more distant kindred of *samanodakas* to the distance of seven generations. Moreover, in the Hindu family, the woman's relationship to her own family is not extinguished by marriage; but it simply lies dormant to be revived in her sons, who perform the obsequies for her and her ancestors, and are consequently *sapinda* to her family. It is to be observed, however, that this kinship is strictly confined to sons, and does not extend to their descendants.

Such, no doubt, has been the theory of Hindu law for ages, but it is quite possible that there may have been an earlier stage. Mr. Maine would seem to be clearly of opinion that the relics of the *patria potestas* may be traced in the institutions of all early societies;* but it was the *patria potestas* in a very primitive and inartificial form, and not as developed by the Romans, among whom it became a powerful social and political institution. To quote from *Ancient Law*:—

‘Contrasted with the organization of a modern State, the commonwealths of primitive times may be fairly described as consisting of a number of little despotic Governments, each perfectly distinct from the rest, each absolutely controlled by the prerogative of a single monarch. But though the Patriarch, for we must not yet call him the Paterfamilias, had rights thus extensive, it is impossible to doubt that he lay under an equal amplitude of obligations. If he governed the family, it was for its behoof. If he was lord of its possessions, he held them as trustee for his children and kindred. He had no privilege or position distinct from that conferred on him by his relation to the petty commonwealth which he governed. The Family, in fact, was a Corporation; and he was its representative, or, we might almost say, its Public officer. He enjoyed rights and stood under duties, but the rights and the duties were, in the contemplation of his fellow-citizens and in the eye of the law, quite as much those of the collective body as his own.’†

It cannot be denied that this is an accurate picture of Hindu society in the present day. The joint family is just such a corporation as is here described; the *karttá* is its representative, and his rights and obligations are those of the family. The idea of a family, says Mr. Maine, presupposes the existence of an undeveloped *patria potestas*. “The persons theoretically amalgamated

* *Ancient Law*, pp. 135, 150, 153, and elsewhere. † *Ancient Law*, p. 133.

into a family by their common descent, are practically held together by common obedience to their highest living ascendant, the father, grandfather or great-grandfather. The patriarchal authority of a chieftain is as necessary an ingredient in the notion of a family group, as the fact (or assumed fact) of its having sprung from his loins.* In Roman law this patriarchal authority developed into a domestic despotism; in Hindu law it has never advanced beyond the stage of trusteeship. Contrast the description which Mr. Maine gives us of the Roman *paterfamilias* with that of the *karttā* in Hindu law.

'So far as regards the person', writes Mr. Maine, 'the parent, when our information commences, has over his children the *jus vitæ necisque*, the power of life and death, and *a fortiori* of uncontrolled corporal chastisement; he can modify their personal condition at pleasure; he can give a wife to his son; he can give his daughter in marriage; he can divorce his children of either sex; he can transfer them to another family by adoption, and he can sell them. * * * The ancient law of Rome forbade the Children under Power to hold property apart from their parent, or (we should rather say) never contemplated the possibility of their claiming a separate ownership. The father was entitled to take the whole of his son's acquisitions, and to enjoy the benefits of his contracts, without being entangled in any compensating liability. * * * The *Paterfamilias* was answerable for the delicts (or *torts*) of his Sons under Power. He was similarly liable for the torts of his slaves; but in both cases, he originally possessed the singular privilege of tendering the delinquent's person in full satisfaction of the damage.†

Now what are the powers and responsibilities of the *karttā* of a Hindu family?

'The shasters (we quote Mr. Cowell's words) by no means placed the family under the despotic power of its chief. The *karta* did not possess his family and his property. He rather possessed his property through his family. His obligations outweighed his authority. * * * The acts of each member probably bound the corporation; and every member of it was liable, since responsibility pervaded the whole family. * * * The obligation to provide for the maintenance of the joint family is the foundation of the father's authority over the joint estate.‡

The *karttā* of a Hindu family in fact has remained throughout up to the present day simply a sort of steward of an estate held in common—an estate in which he has no greater interest than the other members of the family, all of whom have a claim upon it for maintenance. It is the same with regard to the *karttā's* authority over the members of his family. His property in his

* *Ancient Law*, p. 183.

‡ Cowell, pp. 108, 109, 134.

† *Ancient Law*, pp. 138, 141, 145.

own son is limited, and to some extent shared by others. A son is as much bound to perform the obsequies of his grandfather as of his own father, and it is only by virtue of this obligation that he is entitled to succeed to the family estate. There is thus a communal principle pervading the family relations in regard to persons as well as property, and this communal principle has never given way to the *patria potestas* strictly so called. Mr. Cowell, therefore, seems to us to be likely to mislead his students in the contrast he draws between the Roman *patria potestas* and the *sapindaship* of Hindu law. The fact would seem to be that the peculiarities which he notices, are simply derived from the religious idea which pervades the whole of the Hindu system, and are in no sense an outgrowth of the patriarchal authority. Our own theory is that the limitation of the *sapinda* relationship on the mother's side is a relic of a primæval age, in which the mother's personality was altogether ignored; while its existence in any form is due to a later day, when religious ideas had come to be engrafted on, and largely to influence, national usage. Originally, it is quite possible that among the Hindus, as among other primitive nations, marriage had the effect of cutting a woman off, utterly and irrevocably, from her own kindred, who were thenceforth completely forgotten or ignored. In the strictest sense, the woman left her own father and mother, and clave unto her husband, and they became one flesh. She lost her individuality and became thenceforth merged, as it were, in her husband. We have evidence of this in some of the forms of Hindu marriage, and in the practices of some of the primitive tribes on our frontier. Whether she were carried off as a captive of war* or purchased from her kindred as a common chattel, it seems to us to be pretty certain that in the earliest times a woman was severed from her own family altogether by marriage, and absorbed in that of her lord and master. In modern society a man is found possessed of two sets of relatives on the side of his father and mother respectively. But originally it was not so. The law of usage over-rode the law of blood; and in practice a man had nothing whatever to do with his mother's relations. But when the Hindus began to acquire their peculiar beliefs regarding a future state, and the happiness of the departed spirit was held to depend upon the manner in which the obsequies were performed by the descendants of the deceased, we can imagine that a necessity must have arisen for the deliverance of the woman's soul—that the performance of her *śrāddha*, too, was indispensable to her spiritual salvation. Hence a woman's *śrāddha* came to be performed by her son, and in the *sapindikarana* her spirit was removed from ghost-land and associated with her ancestors in the

* Compare *Deut.* xxi. 10—14.

regions of the *pitris*. By this time the *śrāddha* had penetrated the whole Hindu system, and had come to supply the principle on which the inheritance and succession to property was made to depend. The duty of performing the obsequies carried with it the right to succession to the property of the deceased. And thus it came about that a woman's son was numbered as one of her own family, and in certain cases succeeded to the ancestral property as heir.

It is, as we conceive, the act of redeeming the soul of his mother from the region of the shades, and the necessity for this purpose of his offering oblations to the manes of her ancestors, that connects a Hindu through the *pinda* with his mother's family. And this reason sufficiently explains why the relationship is strictly a personal one, being neither shared by sisters, nor transmitted to sons. The sisters, of course, are incapacitated from the performance of their mother's *śrāddha*, and her spirit having been once removed into safety in *pitri-lok*, there would seem to be no necessity for the continued performance of *śrāddhas* in her honour by her son's son.

In the foregoing pages we have shown how the principles of Hindu law operate to limit the legal idea of a family — how, with the remarkable exception that every man is *sapinda* to his own mother's family, all relations through females are excluded, while concentric circles, so to speak, mark off groups of kindred in the male line in greater or less proximity. It remains, however, to consider another aspect of Hindu law. We have seen how, from both secular and religious motives, the continuance of the Hindu family was an obligation of the very highest necessity. The principle of co-parceny which united the living with the dead, the due performance of the joint worship and the management of the joint estate, the manner in which the salvation of the soul was believed to depend upon the pious offices of descendants — to say nothing of the duty of preserving and transmitting the family name — all these considerations had a force among Hindus which the Western mind is slow to appreciate. Hence marriage was regarded as indispensable, and practically came to be almost universally practised. But it might so happen that the end and object of marriage was unattained; nature might refuse to bless the union with offspring. What was to be done in such a case? Was it not possible in any way to supplement the imperfections and shortcomings of nature? The law provided an artificial remedy in the institution of *adoption*.

The practice of adoption seems to have been prevalent in almost all ancient communities, and to a great extent for the same reasons. Both among the Greeks and among the Romans, one of

its main objects was the preservation of the *sacra** of the family, which was only the religious mode of regarding the preservation of the family name. Wherever it existed, too, the practice seems to have been subject to very similar rules. It was a general maxim, for instance, that it was only in default of natural male offspring that a man could adopt, and that in no case could he adopt an only son.

The Sastras mention twelve kinds of sons among Hindus, of whom six are declared to be kinsmen and heirs, and six not heirs but kinsmen. "Of the twelve sons of men, whom Manu, sprung from the self-existent, has named, six are kinsmen and heirs; six not heirs (except to their own fathers) but kinsmen. The son begotten by a man himself (in lawful wedlock), the son of his wife begotten (in the manner before described), a son given (to him), a son made (or adopted), a son of concealed birth (or whose father cannot be known), and a son rejected (by his natural parents), are the six kinsmen and heirs. The son of a young woman (unmarried), the son of a pregnant bride, a son bought, a son by a twice-married woman, a son self-given, and a son by a Sudra, are the six kinsmen but not heirs to collaterals."† In the present Kali age, however, only a legitimately begotten son (*ourasa*) and the son given (*dattaka*) are recognized in Bengal, the *kritrima* form of adoption (or the son made) being also current in Mithila. The legitimate son includes the son of an appointed daughter (*putrika puttra*)—that is, the son of a daughter of whom the father has said, "The male child that shall be born from her in wedlock, shall be mine for the purpose of performing my obsequies."

The institution of adoption has been thoroughly treated by Mr. Cowell, and the subject is one of deep interest for the examples it affords of the tendency of Hindu law, under the administration of our Courts, to depart more and more from its exclusively religious type. In following our author through his treatise on this topic, our main purpose will be to draw attention to those points in which the ancient Hindu theories seem to have been affected by English case-law.

By adoption a Hindu *dattaka* son is transferred completely and irrevocably from the family of his birth to that into which he is adopted. The legal rules in regard to the ceremony require that the adoptive father have no son; that the gift and acceptance of the child be manifested by some overt act; that the child be neither an only nor the eldest son, and that he be at the time of

* The *sacra privata* were made perpetual by the laws of the Twelve Tables. It was the duty of the pontifices to see that the *sacra gentilitia* were regularly performed. See Maine's *Ancient Law*, pp. 191-192.
† Manu, ix. 158-169.

adoption of the prescribed age, that is, not more than five years old. The ritual was originally of the simplest description. Manu merely directs that the gift should be "confirmed by pouring water." Other writers have provided for a certain amount of publicity in the attendance of the kinsmen of the family and notice to the Raja or headman of the village.* But it has been ruled that these secular ceremonies are not legal essentials, although their absence may be regarded as suspicious. Such was also, till lately, the general opinion in regard to the *datta homam*, or sacrifice to fire. The rule which was laid down by Sir Thomas Strange, and which has been consistently followed for a long series of years, was that the performance of the *datta homam*, though of religious significance and importance, was not essential to the validity of the adoption in the eye of the civil law. But the High Court has lately ruled that the observance of the religious ceremony is not only an indispensable requisite in the case of the three twice-born classes, but that even Sudras must employ Brahmans to perform it for them in order to constitute a valid adoption.† Mr. Cowell criticises this decision as a retrograde step in the administration of Hindu law, and his arguments appear to have considerable force. It is no doubt the duty of our courts to administer the law as we find it laid down in the text-books of the authorities, but when there is a balance of authority, it would surely be unreasonable to expect them to adopt that view of the case which is most opposed to modern ideas, instead of promoting the separation of law and religion and the establishment of legal principles upon a more enlightened basis.

'The clear written text of sages,' writes Mr. Cowell, 'whose maxims are received and held in reverence by Hindus, and shown to be generally acted upon, must always prevail in deciding upon their laws and usages; but where sages and commentators are at variance, or where their language and meaning are doubtful, the most liberal interpretation of their precepts which shall be consistent with the objects they had in view, and with those considerations of public policy which Courts of Justice are in the habit of regarding, may fairly be resorted to in the exposition of Hindu law.'

In the present case, moreover, the rule which has now been impugned had considerable prescription in its favour, and it was therefore unnecessary, as we think, as well as impolitic, to revive

* We would commend this point in particular to our social reformers. A system of registration of adoptions is still a *desideratum*. The Legislature has lately provided for the compulsory registration of authorities to

adopt when they are reduced to writing, but a nuncupative authority is still legal.

† *Bhairabnāth Sye v. Mahes Chandra Bhadury*. 4 B.L.R., A. C. 162. J.J. Loch and Bayley.

and perpetuate the position, that an idolatrous ceremony is a necessary formality to a legal adoption. As Mr. Cowell remarks:—

‘The Courts have always declined to supervise religious ceremonials or to insist in any way on their performance. They are left, and properly so, to the conscience of individuals or to the influence of the priests or of the opinion of the caste or community to which the parties belong. The weight of judicial authority has never been thrown into the scale to secure their observance or to prescribe their necessity.’ (p. 239.)

And again:—

‘It would appear to be equally convenient and reasonable that the performance of religious ceremonies enjoined at, as well as after, the adoption, should be left to the conscience of individuals; and that the public or well-ascertained gift and acceptance with the intention that he should be a son, by those qualified to give and accept, of a child eligible to be given and accepted, should alone be legally sufficient for the validity of an adoption.’ (p. 230.)

After all, we must remember that Hindu law, like every other institution, has had its various phases, the injunctions of one age being unknown to or forbidden by another. It was the general belief some years ago that *suttee* was as old a custom as the Hindus themselves, but later researches have proved beyond doubt that it was merely an abuse which crept in with the degradation of women, and that it was not practised in the Vedic age.* In the case before us, Manu is silent as to the observance of the *datta homam*; he speaks only of “the pouring of water.” On the other hand Jagannatha, who is generally considered as no mean authority, says “that the *homam* is an unessential part of the ceremony, no one having declared that filiation is null without it.” Under these circumstances we cannot but regret, with Mr. Cowell, the decision which has threatened to give a longer lease to the authority of priestcraft and the observance of superstitious rites.

In regard to the age at which a child should be adopted, it is curious to note how a religious idea is, as usual, introduced to subserve a civil purpose. One of the most important theories of the Hindu system is the necessity which every man is supposed to be under of being regenerated from the taint of sin which he contracted in his mother’s womb. With those who are designated *par excellence* the twice-born classes, this process of regeneration extends over a long period, during which various ceremonies are to be performed. The regeneration of Sudras and women is effected once for all by marriage. Now Hindu law makes it essential that the regeneration of an adopted child should be effected in the family of adoption

* See *Journal Asiat. Soc. Beng.* for *of the Ancient Hindus*, by Babu Rajendralala Mitra. 1870, p 241. *On the Funeral Ceremonies*

—the child must be born again, as it were, as his adoptive father's son. Accordingly with the three higher classes, it is considered indispensable that certain of the ceremonies which go to constitute regeneration, should be celebrated in the adoptive family, but, as usual, the schools differ as to the particular ceremonies which should be thus performed. It seems to be universally admitted that the *upandayana*, or investiture with the sacred thread—a rite which is usually performed when the child is from six to eight years old—must be solemnized in the family of adoption. And some schools go further and declare that adoption ought to take place before the performance of the next preceding ceremony of *churákarana*, or tonsure, on which occasion the child is addressed by the name of his patriarchal tribe. The impediment may be got over by the performance of penance and sacrifice, but even in this case it is said that the child remains a *dwyámushyáyana*, or son of two fathers, belonging to both families, and capable of performing obsequies and so of inheriting in both. In the case of all four tribes, marriage of course constitutes an insurmountable bar to adoption.

The question as to the extent to which the spiritual injunctions of the Sastras are to be understood as binding in civil law, is one which, considering the way in which almost every act of a Hindu is overlaid with religious ceremonies, naturally often forces itself upon the attention of the courts. Another case in connection with our present subject is noticed by Mr. Cowell. The question raised was the validity of the adoption of an only son. The Madras and Bombay High Courts, following the *dictum* of Jagannatha, who says that the moral guilt incurred by the adoption of an only son does not invalidate the adoption itself, have ruled that such an adoption, though reprehensible in the eye of morality, is perfectly valid in law. But notwithstanding that it is in Bengal, where the doctrines of Jagannatha are supposed to be mainly held in esteem, and where the maxim of *factum valet* flourishes, the Bengal High Court has refused to be bound by the Madras decision, and has on the contrary ruled that “the religious and temporal aspects of adoption are wholly inseparable; that the subject of adoption is inseparable from Hindu religion itself, and all distinction between religious and legal injunctions must be necessarily inapplicable to it.” Mr. Cowell remarks:—

‘The judgment in the case* was delivered by Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, and is doubtless of the highest authority. But although the prohibitions are, in the matter of adopting an only son, so distinct as to justify their being extended to invalidate any adoption which

* *Raja Upendra Lal Ray v. Srimati Rání Prasannamayí.* 1.B.L.R., A.C. 221.

takes place in defiance of them, it is nevertheless desirable that the distinction between religious and legal injunctions should not be lost sight of, and that the theory should not be too readily accepted that the religious aspects of any single doctrine or institution in Hindu law are altogether inseparable.' (p. 310.)

Mr. Cowell thoroughly concurs in the result of the Bengal decision, but he shows, and satisfactorily as we think, that that result may be arrived at by an altogether independent process of reasoning, by considering the legal right of a father to dispose of an only son in adoption, without introducing the religious aspect of the question at all. If, as we conceive, the communal idea as completely pervades the *personal* relations of the family as it does the institutions connected with the devolution of property, no Hindu can set up an absolute right in the person of a son, whose pious offices are as indispensable to the welfare of his father's ancestors as to that of his father himself.

We have been at pains to lay before the reader these tendencies of the modern legislation of our courts in regard to Hindu law, partly because their exposition constitutes one of the main features of Mr. Cowell's Lectures, and we could not, therefore, have properly reviewed his book without some notice of them, and partly because the subject appears to us to be in itself one of very great importance. It is before all things desirable that the action of our courts in this respect should not be misunderstood, at the same time that it is left free and unfettered. There is no one in India who would deplore more sincerely than the writer of this paper any rude attempt to transgress the principles upon which Hindu law is based, or carelessly and without sufficient cause to set at nought the hoary traditions and venerable institutions of the people. We have probably gone quite far enough, if not too far, of late years in endeavouring to adapt everything in the country to European models. And in interfering with the social and domestic institutions of a foreign nation, we are treading on most delicate ground. There is no subject on which the people are more sensitive, and consequently no subject in dealing with which greater caution is necessary. It is not enough to dismiss such ideas on the ground that they are mere sentiment. Sentiment plays no unimportant part in the world's history. A nation's love of its traditions and antecedents is a part of the national life. Hindu law, as we have seen, is intimately connected both with the religious beliefs and the domestic institutions of the people. They believe it to be of divine origin, just as much as we believe that the Ten Commandments were delivered by God to Moses. These beliefs may be false, but, so long as they retain their hold upon the national mind, they must be tenderly and cautiously dealt with.

But while we are thus careful not to give offence by any clumsy or heedless interference with the dearest customs and usages of the people, we must not overlook the fact that Hindu society is passing through a transitional stage, and that considerably advanced views are not uncommon among a very large section of the educated classes. Neither caste nor priestcraft has to-day the same hold upon the national mind that it had fifty years ago. No one would maintain that the English courts were bound to uphold caste with all the degrading distinctions prescribed by Manu. Few would contend that a civil court in the present day should interpret the injunctions of the Sastras from the stand-point of a Brahman priest.* In these matters a certain progress has already been made, and the tendency is still to advance in the same direction. We may readily believe that, even if left to themselves, the people of India would respond to the impulse which has lately been given to their civilization, and gradually evolve a new system of law which would be free from the debasing influence of priestcraft and superstition. And it is surely not for us, standing here as we pretend, as the educators and enlighteners of the people, to repress the aspiration after better things which we have ourselves created. Surely it is our duty rather to lend a helping hand, and in the true spirit of sympathy to encourage every effort which the people are willing to make in the way of progress.

As we have remarked above, too, it is desirable, both for its own sake and for that of the people, that religion should be confined to its proper sphere, without being introduced into the discussion of civil questions. Religion is essentially a matter of conscience and concerns the individual alone; the civil laws are ordained for the well-being of the body politic. The tendency of a progressive civilization, so far as history can be trusted, has always been to sever them. Knowing this, we may expect the same tendency to operate in regard to Hindu law, and it would be an act of madness to hope to counteract it. On the contrary, the wiser policy would seem to be to utilize our experience by gradually preparing the way for the changes which are inevitable. The religious beliefs of the

* Mr. Cowell quotes the following passage from a judgment of Sir Colley Scotland:—"It is of great importance, I think, in this country that the courts exercising their civil jurisdiction as now provided, should carefully guard against entertaining suits in respect of mere ritual observances and the conduct of the various kinds of native religious worship and ceremonies, and of what, as incident thereto, may be due to the sacred character

or the religious rank and position of individuals. With such matters the courts cannot properly deal, and if their jurisdiction extended to interference in them, the law would, I fear, be made instrumental in upholding and continuing the ceremonials and superstitious observances of idol-worship, for the benefit merely of the few who profit by them."—*Striman Sadogapa v. Kristna Tatachariyar*. 1 Madras H. C. R. 301.

people may undergo modification ; if, then, the civil laws continue to be based on those beliefs, what is there to prevent their being swept away along with them? Roman law was at one time as intimately bound up with religion as Hindu law is at the present day ; but it had to free itself from the connection before it furnished the basis on which the whole system of European jurisprudence has been erected. The practice of adoption is in itself not a whit more objectionable than the testamentary power which occupies so prominent a position in English law ; it only becomes objectionable if it is connected with the performance of superstitious and idolatrous rites. Is a Hindu who scruples to perform a sacrifice to fire, to be henceforth barred from the practice of adoption ? Yet this is the dilemma to which those must see themselves reduced, who insist upon maintaining the dependence of legal rights upon religious observances.

The duty before us is a delicate one to perform ; and as we have said, however much we may deplore the evils we see around us, we would deprecate any rude or violent attempt to remove them. It is for this reason that we conceive it to be a most fortunate thing for this country, that the Government is able to avail itself of the services of educated native gentlemen in the highest courts in the land — men who have had a large and liberal training in the principles of Western science, and who cannot be charged with a want of sympathy with the people, or of reverence for their institutions. Such men will render far more valuable assistance to our courts, and be far more instrumental in reconciling the revered injunctions of the Hindu sages with the requirements of modern civilization, than the old pundits and law officers who were only interested in preserving the supremacy of their own caste.

No one can have realized to himself the idea of a Hindu joint-family without perceiving that the system has its advantages as well as its disadvantages, that it is productive of much social evil as well as of good. It hardly falls within the scope of our subject, but we will entreat the reader's patience while we briefly sketch in conclusion the effects of the family system on the social economy of the country.

The main defect of the system, as it seems to us, lies in the opposition which it offers to industrial enterprise. It does this in

* Reg. VII of 1837, s. 9, of the Bengal Code, extended by Act XXI of 1850, affords a notable instance of the progress of our legislation in this respect. That enactment—one of the monuments of Lord William Bentinck's rule—removed the civil

disabilities which attached to a renunciation of the Hindu religion. A convert from Hinduism, for instance, can now succeed to ancestral property without being compelled to perform the *śrāddha* of the deceased.

two ways :—it directly encourages idleness, and it indirectly fetters the efforts of the industrious. When every man in the community has a claim for maintenance upon his family, and when that claim is recognized both by law and by social opinion, one of the strongest inducements to individual exertion is removed. The first ambition of every English youth is to be independent and to support himself; and this feeling is encouraged by English public opinion. A Hindu, on the other hand, if he be so inclined, may sit idle all his life long and be dependent upon his family for support. He neither suffers personal inconvenience for so doing, nor is it considered a matter of reproach. He is allowed to marry and beget children, just as though he were himself earning a sufficiency for their maintenance. Drones of this kind are not uncommon in the hive, and they must be a fearful drag upon society no less than on the family fund. The effects of the system may be traced in the national character. The apathy of the Hindu is doubtless due as much to the social institution of which we are writing, as to the effects of a relaxing climate, or any other cause whatever.

Nor is this all. Ancestral property in India, as a rule, consists of land, and the want of an absolute ownership is a bar to all improvement. In such cases, when property is held in co-parcenary, nothing can be done without the consent of all the sharers, and it is scarcely necessary to say that the old proverb *Quot homines tot sententie* is of every-day application. The difficulty of applying capital to the land under these circumstances, would seem to be almost insurmountable. A sharer with money and enterprise, may wish to improve his estate by irrigation, drainage, the construction of embankments or roads; but he is at once prevented from doing so by the consideration that the benefit of the outlay will have to be shared with others who may not be willing to contribute a single rupee towards the improvement. There is probably not a single district officer in the country, who has not had sad experience of the evil of the joint family system in this respect. In a similar manner the relations of landlord and tenant suffer, when the ownership of the property is distributed among a number of co-parceners, not one of whom has sufficient interest independent of the rest, to induce him to consult the welfare or convenience of the ryot.

On the other hand, the joint family system has one advantage, which is of no little importance in a social point of view. The right which every member of the family possesses of shelter in the common residence, and of maintenance out of the common fund, results in preventing a great deal of the misery and pauperism which we see in England and other countries in Europe. So long as the family system is in operation, a poor-law will probably be unnecessary in Bengal. The young, the old, the help-

less and infirm, are all provided for, and that by the very persons on whom it is most reasonable that the cost of their maintenance should fall. Whether this single advantage is sufficient to outweigh the evils of the system which we have described above, we shall not pretend to enquire. It may be that it is itself more than counterbalanced by the domestic inconveniences of the system. However admirable that system may be, as providing for the poor and helpless, it is very questionable indeed if it is productive of as much domestic happiness as exists in other communities. It is not permitted to a European to learn all that goes on inside a native *zenana*, but if all we hear be true, it would seem that dissensions, jealousies, bickerings, and all the bad passions of our human nature are as rife there as elsewhere, and probably to an exaggerated degree, proportionate to the number of its inmates. The fact is, as Mr. Justice Phear told the Bethune Society, were it not for the early age at which marriage is contracted in this country, the joint family system would be unbearable and impossible ; and with the spread of education, and the emancipation and better treatment of women, we may expect to see it disintegrated and gradually to disappear.

ART. VI.—METEOROLOGY IN INDIA.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1864.

Reports of the Meteorological Reporter for the North Western Provinces, 1863-1869.

Reports of the Meteorological Reporter for the Punjab, 1866-68.

Reports of the Meteorological Reporter for Bengal, 1867-69.

IN the budget estimates for the year which has just elapsed, under the general heading of expenditure on Education, Science and Art, is an item of Rs. 59,006 for meteorological registration. This does not include the cost of the three Presidency observatories, which, however, discharge other functions in addition to that of meteorological registration, nor does it include the expenditure borne by certain local funds for observatories in Oudh, the Punjab and Bombay. We may roughly estimate the meteorological work of these at Rs. 20,000 in addition, so that the total public outlay on work of this kind throughout India does not fall far short of Rs. 80,000. It is now nearly six years since 'Meteorological Departments' began to figure in the public accounts, and as is usually the case, the amounts under that heading have shown a pretty steady tendency to increase. The results of six years' work are or should be now forthcoming, and it is therefore not premature to enquire what these results amount to. Have we some solid return for the outlay, in the shape of systematised fact which may hereafter be turned to account in the practical treatment of questions of agriculture, sanitation, irrigation, engineering and the like, and have we something added to the general stock of science; or have we, as is too often the case, merely a pile of crude materials useless alike to the meteorologist and the economist, and destined to slow destruction by the ravages of insects and fungi, while awaiting the hand of a Dove to sift and arrange them?

There is perhaps no modern science on which so much labour has been fruitlessly expended as on meteorology. The labours of astronomers are comparable to those of meteorologists in the extent to which they involve regular and unremitting observation, and in the consequent accumulation of registers and tables; but those who devote themselves to astronomical observation have, with rare exceptions, a definite purpose in what they undertake; they know how to observe, and where causes of error lurk; and they are so far instructed in their subject that they are themselves competent to bring their crude observations into a useful shape. But when the physics of our atmosphere, instead of the physics of the stars, are the subject of study, no such preparation

is thought necessary. Anyone who can read a Vernier, and whose habits are sufficiently methodical to allow of his noting the readings of his instruments at set hours with tolerable regularity, deems himself, as a rule, qualified to make useful observations on the physical state of the atmosphere; and if these conditions coincide with a laudable desire to do something useful, a preference of sedentary to active occupation, and the possession of a barometer and thermometer or the means of obtaining them, the chances are that one more meteorological register is set on foot. A very little consideration will show that work so undertaken can rarely be of any service whatever; but the contrary opinion is so generally prevalent, that we may be permitted a short digression to prove its error. Meteorological science, in common with all other forms of knowledge, proceeds by methods of comparison; and meteorological registers are of value only, if, when they are compared the one with the other, the differences that they show can be accepted as indicating real differences in the things or states of things that the instruments are intended to indicate. This condition is not of such necessary or even frequent fulfilment as might seem at first sight. To take a simple example;—let us suppose that two thermometric registers kept by different observers, either at different stations in the same year or at the same station in different years, show a mean difference of 4° . This may result either from an actual difference in the mean temperature of the air at the two places, or in the two periods (which is of course the assumed cause); but it may equally result from one thermometer having an error of $+2^{\circ}$ and the other of -2° ,* or the one may have been recorded at 9 o'clock and the other at 8 o'clock; or, finally, the one may have been hung where exposed to the heat reflected or radiated from a neighbouring wall, and the other in a deeply shaded spot near a pond, where the evaporation always keeps the temperature lower than elsewhere around. Only in the first case, speaking generally, is the fact useful to the meteorologist, but it is not sufficient that there has been a real difference in the thing observed. In order that the fact may be useful to him *quantum valeat*, he must be *well assured* that this is the *only* cause of the difference shown by the figures. If there be any doubt about the matter, he will not, if he be imbued with the true spirit of science, draw any conclusion from their registers. They are to him little better than waste paper. Now, unless an observer is well acquainted with physics, it is only by a rare chance that he can avoid such pitfalls, and they surround the use of the barometer, and most other instruments, even more thickly than they do that of the thermometer. Hence it is that the number of registers that can

* No unusual case with old instruments.

be used with confidence for the purposes of science, is but a small fraction of those laboriously constructed by amateurs.

So far our remarks have reference to amateur observation—to those cases in which the observer takes a personal interest in his work, and where his shortcomings arise from an imperfect appreciation of its requirements. When, however, we turn to what may be termed *official* meteorology, such as has hitherto been the chief outcome of this country, the case is far worse. A certain class of officers, district collectors or medical officers, for instance, none of whom have of necessity more acquaintance with the laws of heat and pneumatics than was conveyed in an English education some years since, receive an order from head-quarters to keep a register of the barometer, thermometer and rain-gauge. Almost as a matter of course, their own time is too much occupied with other duties to allow of their giving much personal attention to the matter; they receive sets of instruments, issued on indent from a general store, without comparison, and accompanied by no directions, or at best by imperfect directions. These instruments are suspended in a convenient place, generally selected chiefly with a view to keeping them out of the way of unofficial curiosity, and their further charge and use is handed over to a sherishtadar, office writer, or native compounder. The results may well be left to the imagination of our readers.*

Up to the year 1865, the greater part of the meteorological statistics that had been collected in India were of this nature. It is characteristic of such ill-considered efforts that no attempt was made to turn to account the data thus collected, nor even to ascertain whether they were capable of being turned to account. They were allowed to accumulate on the record shelves of the Boards of Revenue and the Medical Boards of the several Presidencies; and with the exception of a few fragmentary registers of the better class that found their way into the journals of the Asiatic Societies of Calcutta and Bombay, they remained inaccessible to scientific enquiry.

A large portion of the registers thus collected by the Medical departments were made over to the Messrs. Schlagintweit in 1860,

* Some of the most recent of this class of registers that have come under our notice afford such internal evidence of their character as the following:—The major diurnal barometric tide is frequently non-existent, or even reversed; many of the observed readings of the thermometers are lower than the self-registered minimum, or greater than the self-registered maximum; and in one

case the mean of the 4 P.M. readings for a month exceeds the mean maximum readings; in others, again, the readings of the wet bulb thermometer are higher than those of the dry bulb. To such as these there are, of course, and probably always have been, favourable exceptions, which may be selected by careful revision, but the good are, we fear, the exception, and the bad the rule.

and the remainder are probably still to be found in the Government Offices to which they were originally sent. In the volume of the Asiatic Society's *Journal* for last year, Mr. Blanford gave a summary of the rainfall data for Bengal, collected chiefly from these registers, and the following remarks quoted from the paper, will show that our estimate of their value is at all events borne out by his experience:—

'It is clear,' he says, 'from the character of the original records, that the value of the register in each case has been determined very much by the amount of interest taken in it, or the supervision that could be exercised over it by the local officer, and in some cases it would appear to have been treated in a very perfunctory manner. In some cases the register has been discontinued for several years consecutively, in others for three or four months only while the rain-gauge was sent to Calcutta for repair, and some sudder stations appear never to have been furnished with rain-gauges. I have omitted many stations, the data of which are generally doubtful, or insufficient to furnish a fair average result, especially those in which the earlier series show a marked discrepancy with the later.'

In like manner a summary of five years' registers of the North-West Provinces, drawn up by Dr. Murray Thomson, apparently without rejection of any, shows discrepancies which at once stamp the greater part of them as worthless. Yet the registration of rainfall is by far the simplest kind of meteorological work that can be attempted, requiring as it does only a few of the most ordinary precautions.

Such being the character of the materials, it is apparent enough why, despite all the labour that has been given to meteorological registration, our knowledge of the meteorology of India is actually but little in advance of its condition twenty years ago. But even had they been all that the most critical meteorologist could desire in point of trustworthiness and accuracy, the actual result would not be very different, so long as official efforts had stopped short at the mere accumulation of the materials. There are indeed some few of these that are really valuable, and might be turned to good account, were it anyone's business or pleasure to do so. Such are, for instance, the registers of the three Presidency observatories, those of Travancore and Goa, Colonel Boileau's at Simla, and a few others which we shall have occasion to refer to presently. But "such are after all"—to quote from a recent report of the Meteorological Reporter for Bengal—"only the *materials* for scientific treatment," and not the science itself. To extract useful matter from the crude materials, it is necessary "to discuss as well as collect facts, to compare and "correlate them under the guidance of accepted physical laws, "and to endeavour to trace out the causes which operate in

"producing the normal features of our seasons, as well as those of their irregularities, the important influence of which on the welfare of the country has of late years been too painfully obvious."

This is the kind of work that, in more favoured countries, is performed by a class that scarcely exists in India,—the holders of lectureships and professorships at the great educational centres, and educated men in every walk of professional and private life, who find leisure for intellectual work as a relaxation from business affairs. We fear it will yet be long before such men will be found in India in any numbers. The few that have appeared either among the natives or European officers of Government, have generally devoted their attention to literature; but they are so few, that for many years to come it is hopeless to look to such sources for any material amount of assistance in exploiting the treasures of science of which India presents so rich a field. Till such a class shall come forward to aid in the work, it must be done by Government officers, or the field must lie barren.

Views essentially similar to the above were long ago formally laid before the Government in a report on the collection of meteorological statistics, drawn up in 1864 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the measures that have been since adopted to carry out this object, this report appears to have been practically ignored in many of its more essential provisions, and we shall presently see that it is to this neglect that must be attributed the comparative failure, now acknowledged on all hands, that has attended the efforts of Government in this direction.

The action of the Society originated in 1857 in a memorandum by Colonel Strachey, which called the attention of the Society to the inutility of the desultory attempts that had been made up to that time to acquire a knowledge of the meteorology of India, and to "the urgent need of a controlling power capable of combining the work of all observers." On Colonel Strachey's proposition a Committee was formed, which, it appears, was originally intended to discharge such a function; but this was speedily found to be impracticable, and shortly after came the outbreak of the mutinies, and men had little leisure or taste for *diletante* pursuits when battling for life and supremacy in the land. So meteorology remained in abeyance for five years, and it was not until 1862 that a report was drawn up by the Committee, and embodied in a letter to the Government. In reply to this letter the Society was requested to draw up a scheme for giving practical effect to its recommendations; but delays supervened, and it was not until the beginning of 1865 that the report was laid before Government.

This report will be found printed in the published proceedings of the Society for December 1864. From the memorandum which

accompanies it, and which recounts the circumstances of its preparation, it appears to have been drawn up after prolonged deliberation, and after every endeavour had been made to collect the opinions of all, who, from their scientific acquirements and experience in the country, might be in a position to contribute useful advice or suggestions. We shall give a summary of its principal recommendations, quoting at length the more important passages on which we shall afterwards have occasion to comment.

The report sets out with an emphatic postulate, that "in meteorology, as in all branches of physical science, accuracy of observation and a clearly defined and rational aim are indispensable;" that "labour and money are equally thrown away upon any scheme which does not fulfil these all-important conditions." After illustrating this position at some length, it proceeds:—

'Strongly holding this view, the Committee cannot recommend the adoption of any scheme which does not provide competent means of observation, and skilled and intelligent, in other words, special scientific supervision. They consider that in establishing a system of meteorological registration for India, it may be wise not to aim at much detail, or at very extensive results at the outset, but it will be better to devote whatever sums the Government may grant to meteorology, to provide a small and efficient staff, which may be extended in such manner and direction as experience may hereafter show to be advisable. It should be the duty of this staff, in the first place, to review the existing machinery of observation; to select and improve such parts as may be found capable of yielding useful results; and the rest should be strictly excluded from the Government official record, as being calculated to vitiate the general results, if mixed up with more accurate data. When, by selection and careful supervision, a reliable system of record shall have been established, a central office will be necessary, at which the general results, furnished by the local officers of the staff, may be worked up into such a form as to render them available to Government and Foreign meteorological bodies; and in the interim, the whole system should be under the control of a skilled and trustworthy officer.'

The report then proceeds to discuss the duties of the staff to be entrusted with the practical working of the scheme. This is to consist of a superintendent, seven local officers (one to each of the Governments of India), and local observers, to be selected from those now existing (with others), who should be furnished with compared instruments, and instructions to ensure uniformity of results.

'The superintendent would be the sole responsible officer, to whose intelligence and scientific knowledge the formation and administration of the entire system would be entrusted, and who would be the immediate superior of the local reporters. His duties would be to issue instructions to the local officers, to superintend the comparison

and distribution of instruments, and their repair when necessary. He would * * * receive all local reports, from which he would undertake the preparation of maps and such general reductions of the results of the department, as would bring them into a form readily available to Government and the public for general application. He would also place himself in communication with the meteorological departments of England and other countries, with a view to the exchange of meteorological data, and in order that European science may avail itself of the undoubtedly valuable additions, which systematic observation in an intertropical country, possessing features so marked and varied as those of India, cannot fail to afford. These duties would demand much scientific knowledge and administrative capacity; and indeed the success of the system must, in a great measure, depend on the efficiency of this officer.* * * * The appointment of some such officer is, it is considered, an essential part of any useful scheme of meteorological registration, and the greatest care should be exercised in the selection of a person for the post.

Nothing can be clearer or more to the purpose than the views of the Society as expressed in this and the preceding passages. There was to be one chief officer, to do or control the head-work, and who would be held responsible for that work being done. He was to see that all those preliminary precautions, which, being matters of detail, are, as experience has shown, most apt to be ignored or overlooked, but which are nevertheless absolutely essential to the success of the work, should be rigorously observed and carried out; and it was for him to bring the results into such a form that they should be intelligible and fruitful. In such an appointment was afforded the controlling power, the acknowledged necessity for which was the motive of Colonel Strachey's memorandum and the Society's action in the matter. Yet, strange to say, this, at once the mainspring and balance-wheel of the system, was omitted in the scheme subsequently carried out.

The qualifications and duties of the local reporters are next discussed; but this part of the report we need not quote at length. It is of subordinate importance to the above, and many of its provisions, such as the selection for local reporters of persons habitually devoted to the pursuit of abstract knowledge, such as the Professors of the Government or other colleges; the requirement of an annual report of results from each reporter, &c., have been partially carried out. But here, again, some essential details are especially insisted on, which have very generally been neglected in practice; more especially those which are intended to keep in view the conditions of accuracy and uniformity, so strongly urged in the outset of the report.

The report then reviews the existing meteorological data, and the machinery for recording them. The registers are classed under

four heads; 1st, those of the Government observatories at the Presidency towns; 2nd, those made at Government [Military?] hospitals; 3rd, those recorded at civil stations, prisons and police stations; and 4th, on Government ships. It proposes that the first class of observatories be placed under the local reporters;* that the second be reduced in number, and the observations so limited in kind and quantity that a value may be given to them, "which for the most part they cannot be considered to have at present." The third class is believed to be of little value, and with the exception of a few special cases which are defined, it recommends their abandonment. The fourth class are stated to yield results that are fairly trustworthy, and capable of being much more so, by a little care and attention on the part of the local reporter. The report also suggests the possibility of obtaining valuable observations of a class not included in the above—*viz.*, those made by educated planters and others scattered through the country who are not in the Government service, and recommends that whenever such observations are obtainable, assistance should be afforded by the loan of instruments, &c. Finally, an estimate of the cost is given, amounting to an annual sum of Rs. 57,000, and a preliminary outlay of Rs. 10,000; and the report concludes with an emphatic warning that "any attempt to obtain meteorological data on a cheap scale of payments will fail, as previous attempts have failed," and that any expenditure which is so incurred will prove a loss of money, entailing only disappointment on all who look to the registration of Indian meteorology to give information of value in sanitation, agriculture, and the general administration of the country." Alas that this warning fell on heedless ears! Economy was attempted, by dispensing with the head officer who was to control the system. The result is—the actual annual expenditure of a sum exceeding that estimated, and, for the rest, that which we have to relate in the following pages.

It was not, as we have said, until the beginning of 1864, that this report was forwarded to the Government; and about three months before it was sent in, the memorable cyclone of the 5th October 1864, had roused public attention in Bengal to the importance of a meteorological system, if only for the purpose of warning the port and shipping of the approach of these storms. About the same time, or somewhat earlier, a despatch from the Secretary of State had pressed the subject of the systematic record

* That of Calcutta was and still remains attached to the Surveyor General's Office, and is quite independent of the meteorological department. That of Madras is attached to the Astronomical observatory, and under the charge of the Government

Astronomer, who is also Meteorological Reporter for the Presidency. That of Bombay is under a special Superintendent. There appears to be no meteorological system in that Presidency.

of meteorological phenomena upon the attention of the Government of India in connection with the requirements of the Sanitary Commission. On the receipt of this despatch the further discussion of the subject was at once taken out of the hands of the Society, and referred to the Sanitary Commission, on whose recommendation officers termed 'Meteorological Reporters' were appointed in the North West Provinces and the Punjab; the former in February 1865, the latter in April of the same year. Still later (we believe in 1866)* a reporter was appointed in Madras, while in Bengal a Committee was appointed by the Local Government, without reference to any general scheme, to arrange and carry out a system of storm-warnings for the protection of the port of Calcutta. In 1867 the executive duties of this committee were largely increased and made over to a local reporter as under the other Governments.

Thus it arose that instead of a uniform and systematic scheme such as was contemplated by Colonel Strachey and the Asiatic Society, and such as, if it had been carried out at first in its integrity, would by this time in all probability have afforded us some definite knowledge of the meteorology of India, a little independent authority was set up in each Government, to frame and carry out a scheme of its own without reference to any general system—without a thought apparently of more than local wants, and without a suspicion that to obtain any rational knowledge of the local meteorology, a knowledge of that of surrounding provinces and seas might, or rather *must*, be indispensable. But to this subject we shall return in the sequel, when we have to trace the effects of this primary error, as shown in the actual results of the work. We shall first give an account, as far as information is before us, of what has been done in the several Presidencies between 1865 and the present time.

The first step taken by the Sanitary Commission, on being entrusted with the collection of meteorological statistics, was to cause a reporter to be appointed for the North-Western Provinces; and Dr. Murray Thomson, Professor of Chemistry in the Thomason College at Roorkee, was selected for the post. Meteorological registers had been kept with some amount of regularity at six stations in the North-West since December 1862, but up to the time of Dr. Thomson's appointment, they had been merely published in weekly sheets in the *Gazette*, and Dr. Thomson's first duty was to collect these ephemeral publications, and condense the two years' results in two moderate reports. These were published as annual reports for 1863 and 1864. The reports published in subsequent

* We have seen no report of the measures taken in Madras. We believe indeed that none has ever been published, and the only information we have, is derived from private sources and the budget.

years relate in some detail the steps taken by Dr. Murray Thomson to extend and improve the system of record, and are very instructive for our present purpose, since they show at greater length than any of the reports from other provinces, the difficulties attendant on any attempt to obtain good meteorological data when no remuneration is given for the work. We shall condense our account from the five reports for the years 1865-69.

At the six stations referred to above as being already in operation at the time of Dr. Thomson's appointment, the observations were recorded under orders of Government as a part of the medical officer's duty, no paid assistance being allowed. They show in some cases considerable irregularities, such as much impair their value, and it does not appear that their barometric and thermometric observations have ever been corrected to any standard, nor is the elevation of their barometers accurately known. With respect to regularity, in 1865 only five of the six stations furnished registers at all, and one of these was deficient for three months. In 1866 and 1867 one half the registers were imperfect to a similar degree. In 1865, however, Dr. Thomson had obtained a monthly remuneration of Rs. 15 for the native assistants who kept the registers, and at the same time he had increased the value of the latter by the addition of night observations. He also visited and inspected the observatories, a proceeding of which he found them to stand much in need, and he took steps to instruct the native students at the Agra Medical College in the use of meteorological instruments, with a view to future contingencies.

In 1866 he obtained registers from two additional stations, at which officers had volunteered their services. In some respects these appear to be valuable, and they are, no doubt, trustworthy; but they are open to the objection that must always hold in such cases, *viz.*, that their regularity is dependent on the constant presence of the superintending officer; and they cease or become irregular on his departure from the station. Such was the case in both these instances.

A third class of registers discussed in Dr. Thomson's reports for 1866 and the subsequent years, are those from the civil and military hospitals at several stations. Dr. Thomson's experience of these fully bears out the low estimate of their value expressed in the Asiatic Society's report. He says—

‘In most of the stations there are more than one hospital, and returns are obtained from each; these are compared with each other; from the means of the whole an abstract is prepared, and this abstract alone is published. At first I was inclined to think that by this plan a trustworthy result would be obtained, but I have so often found the numbers which are put down as the temperature of the same place and hour, to be so different from

each other, that instead of entering the mean, *I was obliged to select the number which appeared to be nearest the truth*, and this was the case also with the direction of the wind as well as other points. The medical officers are not often to blame for the imperfection of their observations, as the only instrument generally supplied is a common thermometer *which may easily be two or three degrees out.**

It might occur to our readers that it would have been better to reject altogether registers showing such discrepancies. The system of selecting 'those that appear nearest the truth' must surely be a very unsafe one, not to speak of the avowedly worthless character of the instruments. Such is the course recommended by the Asiatic Society, and it would probably have been followed by Dr. Thomson, had he felt himself at liberty to exercise his own judgment freely. Apparently, however, he did not so feel, since he says—

'In the proposal, which was submitted to the Government of India with reference to the appointment of reporters on meteorology, by the Sanitary Commission, it was distinctly laid down that the observations made at civil and military hospitals were to be encouraged and turned to useful account as much as possible. This I have endeavoured to do. * * * I must, however, confess that when the appliances are so imperfect, I am not hopeful of getting results which will contribute much to the science of meteorology in India.'

We shall see that the reporter for the Punjab arrived at a similar conclusion. In Lower Bengal and Madras, where a low opinion of these registers had been derived from past experience, and the reporters were left to their own judgment, these hospital registers were at once rejected as worthless—doubtless to the no small economy of time and worry.

Finding these registers to be untrustworthy, Dr. Thomson endeavoured to provide a substitute for them, by establishing six additional observatories on the same footing as those at the six original stations. He obtained also a small personal allowance for the medical officers in charge of his stations, a measure which had already been carried out in Madras and Bengal, where unpaid work had never been in favour. In 1869 eleven observatories had been established on this footing, and complete registers were furnished by thirteen well-equipped stations altogether.

Dr. Thomson's annual reports give in a tabular form the mean and extreme results of each month's register for each station. They also contain a brief historical weather summary for each month of the year, which is doubtless of use to those sanitary officers who love to trace coincidences between the fluctuations

* Report for 1866.

of temperature, moisture, &c., and those of disease. But we find little that can be called meteorological discussion; there is but little attempt to add to our knowledge of the physical *causes* of the weather-states or changes, and the laws of local variations; and perhaps such a discussion is not very feasible under the patchwork system which has made political boundaries the limits of meteorological provinces. We notice one grave omission in these reports, which indeed can scarcely fail to be perceived by any one who may turn to them for information on the rainfall of the country; but we are unaware whether it is to be attributed to any *lâches* on the part of the meteorological reporter, or to that want of appreciation of the requirements of the work on the part of the superior authorities, which is so abundantly manifested in the mode in which the meteorological system has been set on foot. No general summary of the rainfall returns of the N. W. Provinces forms any part of Dr. Thomson's reports, though a register is kept in every subdivisional station, and the returns are published regularly in the N. W. Provinces *Gazette*. We can only infer from the omission of any reference to these returns in Dr. Thomson's reports, that in the N. W. Provinces, the supervision of rainfall registers is not entrusted to the meteorological reporter. But, whatever may be the reason, it is most assuredly a grave defect in the system. The accuracy of such returns can be judged only by a meteorologist, and it should certainly be a part of his duty to supervise them and place the results on permanent record for future reference.

We now turn to the consideration of other provinces.

In the Punjab, a reporter was appointed in April 1866 in the person of Dr. A. Niel, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical School of Lahore. The three reports that have been printed (for the years 1866, 1867 and 1868) give but a meagre account of the system of observation adopted in the Punjab; but it would appear from some passages in the reports, that the officers who furnish the registers are in all cases volunteers, and this inference is borne out by the fact that the sole item of expenditure on meteorology that appears against the Punjab in the Imperial Budget for the current year, is one of Rs. 3,000 for the reporter's salary. We believe, however, that in a few cases, some small allowance is made from local funds to the native observers who keep the registers.

In the three annual reports before us, the registers of 19 stations are given in the form of a brief summary of the mean monthly elements. Of these, however, only two are continuous from the commencement, all the others being defective in one or several months' entire registers, while the majority furnish them for a few months only. We do not here refer to minor deficiencies, such as are due to the temporary want of certain instruments, nor do

we treat as defective those which are wanting for the first months of 1866, the year in which the system was set on foot. The hiatus are evidently due to the circumstances of voluntary work, as we have pointed out above, *viz.*, to the fact that in the case of such work, regularity is dependent on the constancy and continuity of the supervision of the volunteering officer; so that his temporary absence or departure is usually followed by the irregular performance or cessation of the work. But since it is among the primary requirements of a useful system that the registers should be continuous and comparable *inter se*; and since, at all events, the Punjab system does not fulfil the first of these conditions, we cannot regard it as successful, however meritorious may be the exertions of the individual officers who have helped to work it. With respect to the second requirement, we are hardly in a position to form an opinion to what extent it has been met; since, with very few exceptions, Dr. Neil's reports are altogether wanting in descriptive details of the circumstances of the observations, the precautions taken to prevent error, and the methods of reduction by which the published results have been obtained.

Dr. Neil's opinion of the value of the observations taken in civil and military hospitals coincides with those already quoted. He observes, they "are for the most part useless, and scarcely admit of comparison. They represent the *house* temperatures, which are of course influenced by a variety of conditions;" and referring to Mr. Glaisher's meteorological appendix to the report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the sanitary state of the army in India, says, "I can scarcely find one mean temperature correctly given, and the same remark applies generally to the maximum and minimum temperatures."

The Punjab Reports give a historical summary of the weather of each month, similar to that given by Dr. Thomson for the N. W. Provinces, as already noticed, and subject to the same remarks. They also contain reports of the rainfall for thirty-two stations, but, as in the case of the N. W. Provinces, the rainfall registers are not under the supervision of the meteorological reporter, but under the Financial Commissioner,—an arrangement which appears to us somewhat absurd.

Of what has been done in Madras, our information is very meagre. Mr. Pogson, the Government Astronomer, was appointed meteorological reporter for the Presidency, we believe, in 1866; but although a system of registration has been carried out which should by this time have yielded very complete results for three or four years, no report, as far as we can learn, has ever been published, and we are therefore equally unable to ascertain to what extent the system has answered its purpose by affording trustworthy data; and, supposing these to have been satisfactory, to

dra
whi
in l
we
stat
of t
of F
each
Mac
iust
thor
the
dail
of t
obta
whic
legi
and
218
supp
prev
sent
T
conc
and
resu
of t
we
satis
inve
W
a Co
1865
obse
of th
acco
gical
auth
Secr
ing:
depa
* I
abad,
vious
+
Octob

draw any information from them. The Madras system is that which, with some slight modifications, was subsequently adopted in Bengal and the N. W. Provinces, and was originally proposed, we believe, by the Madras Sanitary Commission. At sixteen stations* observatories have been established under the charge of the Garrison Surgeons, who receive a special monthly allowance of Rs. 30 for superintendence. A native observer is appointed to each station (after preliminary training under the reporter at the Madras observatory) on a salary of Rs. 40 per mensem, and the instruments issued are uniform in pattern and have all been thoroughly tested and compared at the Madras observatory, under the eye of the reporter. The observations are recorded three times daily, viz., at 10 A.M., and at 4 and 10 P.M., and mean values of the elements are deduced from these, by applying corrections obtained from the discussion of the registers of hourly observations, which have been recorded during 20 years at Madras. The legitimacy of this proceeding may, perhaps, be open to question, and at least requires verification. The rainfall is registered at 218 talook stations by the sherishtadars, and these have all been supplied with rain-gauges of a uniform pattern, which had been previously examined and tested by the reporter. All registers are sent to the reporter for discussion and publication.

The Madras system is undoubtedly the most complete in its conception and establishment that exists in any of the Presidencies; and if its supervision in working has been equally good, the result ought to afford a very fair conspectus of the meteorology of that Presidency for the last three or four years. But when we come to enquire for that result, we are met with the unsatisfactory reply of De Quincey's *dillettante* murderer, "*Non est inventus.*"

We now turn to Bengal. In this Presidency, as we have seen above, a Committee was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, in March 1865, "to consider the establishment of a system of meteorological observation for the protection of the Port of Calcutta." No report of their operations was ever published by the Committee,† but an account of them is given in the first annual report of the meteorological reporter for Bengal, which may be accepted as official and authentic, as that gentleman had throughout officiated as Honorary Secretary to the Committee. From this we extract the following: "Observers, generally assistants of the Electric Telegraph department, were appointed to a series of stations around

* Including Madras and Secunderabad, at which observatories had previously been established.

† A report on the cyclone of October 5th, 1864, was drawn up by

two members of the Committee, and published by order of the Government of Bengal, but no account is given in this report of any of the Committee's proceedings.

the coasts of the Bay of Bengal (Saugor Island, False Point, Chittagong and Akyab), and to some other stations in communication with Calcutta (Cuttack, Dacca and Darjeeling). They were furnished with instruments for observing the barometric pressure, the humidity of the air and the rainfall, &c. * * *

and were directed to report daily by telegraph the observations of their instruments at 9 h. 30 m. and 16 h., together with an estimate of the wind direction and force, and brief observations on the general appearance of the weather. For these duties they received a monthly allowance of 50 rupees. Similar reports were transmitted from the Madras observatory by the direction of the Government of Madras, and for a time from Kandy in Ceylon. The reports were received at the meteorological observatory attached to the Surveyor-General's office. From these and the Calcutta observatory register for the day, a tabular report was drawn up and submitted every afternoon to the Honorary Secretary to the Committee, or (in his absence) to some other member, and then forwarded to the Master Attendant and the newspapers." This much, and the establishment and working of a system of storm signals for the information of the shipping, was the extent of the operations actually undertaken by the Committee. The reports were filed for future use, but those for 1865 and 1866 have not been published. It was not until (in April 1867) a meteorological office under the charge of a reporter was established in Bengal, that any attempt was made to discuss the registers and deduce from them some general conclusions respecting the local meteorology. Concurrently with the appointment of a reporter, ten additional observatories were established under the charge of the local medical officers, and with native observers specially appointed for the work and paid as on the Madras system. One very important provision of that system was, however, not feasible in Bengal, and the reason that it was not so, is so characteristic of the unsystematic manner in which the whole scheme for India has been set on foot, that we must for an instant dwell upon it.

It was recommended by the Asiatic Society, as we have already seen, that the observatories in the Presidency towns should be placed under the local reporters. It is indeed evident that a central observatory is essential to afford the reporter the means of training observers, of comparing the instruments to be used at out-stations, and of carrying out any experiments or inquiries that experience may show to be necessary: without such an establishment, he must be crippled in many of his most important functions. Such an observatory exists in Calcutta, and since, with the exception of the observations for the working of the time-ball, its work is exclusively meteorological, there would seem to be little difficulty in transferring its charge to the local reporter, as common

sense would dictate. Yet this observatory has been allowed to remain totally independent of that officer; he is deprived of its assistance, and has to carry out, as he best may and with imperfect appliances, those portions of his duties which we have above adverted to, and on the proper execution of which the efficiency of the system must in a great measure depend. In his administration report for 1868 he says:—

‘For some months after the establishment of my office, the principal difficulties in the way of obtaining trustworthy registers arose from a want of knowledge of instruments and their use on the part of the local observers, and it was but rarely that they could obtain information on such subjects from any local resident. The publication of a little book of instructions and rules for their special use has done much to remove those difficulties, and such training as the means at my command have enabled me to give the native observers appointed to second-class stations, has also helped to raise the character of the registers. But much still remains to be done in this direction, and until means are afforded in Calcutta to train and instruct, by practice in a working observatory, as far as their opportunities allow, all who are appointed either as observers or to the superintendence of observatories, I do not look for that efficiency which I believe to be attainable under the system. Certain recommendations to this end have been submitted to Government and are now under consideration.’

This was written in the beginning of 1869, but up to the present time the observatory remains *in statu quo*.

The results of the Bengal system, as far as they have been published, are summed up in three annual reports, the last of which (for 1869) contains the returns of twenty-one stations,* given in the form of monthly summaries. These returns are in some respects more complete than those of the other provinces, since the elevations of the stations and other circumstances have been determined with sufficient accuracy to allow of the data being rendered comparable, and such as to afford a view of the distribution of mean atmospheric pressure, temperature, &c., in each month of the year. In his last report, Mr. Blanford has discussed the more striking meteorological features of the two years 1868 and 1869, and has pointed out, as far he is able to do so from the review of a limited area, what appears to be the normal distribution of temperature and atmospheric pressure during the two monsoons, together with certain irregularities which had a marked influence on the rainfall of the two years under review. Thus, a connection is shown between the local cloudiness of the sky, the intensity of the solar heat, and the consequent mean temperature of the air, which in its

* These, however, include three furnished by the reporters for Madras stations, the registers of which are and the N.W.P.

turn appears to have directly influenced the atmospheric pressure, and consequently the winds and the amount of rainfall. The discussion is interesting enough as far as it goes, and at least tends to confirm the expectations of those who look to a well-devised system of meteorological investigation in India to throw light on many of the most important problems of the science. But it would be an over-estimate of the value of this discussion to regard it as affording more than a promise of important results. In the first place, we may remark that very considerable doubt attaches to the value of the Messrs. Schlagintweit's isothermal charts which are taken as a standard of comparison. We know what data were used in their construction, *viz.*, those very medical registers, of the value of which, in regard to the rainfall returns, Mr. Blanford has himself given a somewhat low estimate; and we have already shown that a rainfall register is less open to vitiation by carelessness or ignorance than is one of temperature observations. Secondly, any discussion of the meteorology of a small section of a country, such as Bengal is in relation to India, must necessarily be imperfect and unsatisfactory when treated exclusively and *per se*. The causes, of which we experience the effects, lie in great part without our area, and *vice versa*; and since, under the present system, each reporter is virtually restricted to his own province, any comprehensive treatment of our meteorology becomes impossible. And unfortunately, although we have now before us the summarized registers for at least the whole of Northern India for two years, there is such diversity in the form of their presentation, and deficiency in those data that are requisite to render them uniform and comparable, that any complete discussion of them is, even now, not feasible.

Another distinctive feature of the Bengal reports is that, keeping in view the original object of the department, the meteorology of the Bay of Bengal, more especially with reference to cyclonic storms, is treated of, in addition to that of the province itself. Indeed, this part of the Bengal reporter's duties, by bringing under his cognizance a largely increased area, places him in an exceptionally favourable position as compared with his colleagues (who are restricted to their own landlocked provinces), and has enabled him to attempt something like a scientific discussion of his data. An additional advantage which he appears to enjoy, is the possession of an office establishment competent to relieve him of the mere mechanical part of his work, which his brother reporters have to perform for themselves. In some respects, therefore, Bengal appears to be a favoured province.

In Bengal, as in Madras, the reporter has the entire control of the rainfall registers, which are now kept at all subdivisional stations. These have lately been furnished with gauges of a

uniform pattern, and if the returns are properly supervised, they should be fairly trustworthy.

In the Central Provinces a system of registration was set on foot in 1868 by the Sanitary Commissioner, Dr. Townshend. The system is simpler and considerably less costly than that of the other provinces (except the Punjab), and is administered by Dr. Townshend himself. Eight observatories have been established under the charge of the local medical officers. Observations of the principal instruments are recorded twice daily, *viz.*, at 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. by the medical subordinates, who receive Rs. 15 per mensem for their work. We have not seen any general report of the results, but a monthly summary prepared in the office of the Sanitary Commissioner is published in the *Central Provinces Gazette* with great regularity. If we were sure that the elevations of the observatories had been accurately determined, and the barometric and thermometric readings corrected to a common standard, little more would be required to render these summaries valuable data; we observe, indeed, a few evident errors in the printed summaries, but with close detailed supervision (a *sine qua non* of any official system of registration) the system appears susceptible of yielding very useful results. We believe that a somewhat similar system has been established in the Berars, but we are without any information of its working.

In Bombay, meteorological registration has been carried on for some years. The Colaba observatory was established in 1841 for recording magnetical variations, in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Society: and the observations (of both the magnetic and meteorological instruments), which were recorded hourly during the twenty years from 1845 to 1864, have been published in twenty-one quarto volumes. There are, in addition, four stations in the Presidency at which, for some years past, observations have been recorded in the local military hospitals, by European sergeants appointed to the duty on a salary of Rs. 55 per mensem. These registers are transmitted to the Colaba observatory for the reduction of the observations, and are then sent home. What may be their final destination is not very clear, but it does not appear that they have ever been utilized for obtaining a knowledge of the meteorology of Western India.

In Burmah, except at Akyab and Port Blair, which are in connection with the Bengal system, no attempt has been made to register the meteorological phenomena. An excellent series of observations, recorded for a short period at Rangoon by Dr. Fayrer, and published in the Asiatic Society's *Journal*, and a few rainfall registers for coast stations, are the only data we have from any part of this important province.

From the foregoing review of the measures that have been carried out for the collection of meteorological statistics during the past six years, the conclusion is, we think, inevitable, that they have proved a failure. For a large part of India we have absolutely no information—the registers, which have been obtained at a considerable cost, having been kept back (for reasons which are not assigned), or sent to England to be thrust away among the records of the India House, or otherwise lost sight of. In another part, again, nothing has been done; and, finally, those Provinces which have furnished printed returns, have for the most part given them to us with such imperfections and deficiencies that they are not comparable the one with the other, and cannot be made so without additional data which are not at present forthcoming. We do not wish to exaggerate the failure, nor to assert that such results as we have are radically worthless. Nay, we believe that, by judicious measures and the expenditure of a sum that would make but an insignificant addition to the present annual outlay, a large proportion of the data already amassed might be rendered of service to science; but there is but little hope of this under the present system, and therefore—and because at best its results must be partial and imperfect—it is a failure.

Neither do we wish to impute blame to the officers who have had charge of the collection of the statistics in the several provinces. Our office is not to impute blame, but to point out error; and it is very possible that these gentlemen's efforts may have been defeated by the want of adequate means. But it would be as unreasonable to expect success from any scheme in which the management is divided between a number of independent heads, as to expect a victorious campaign with an army in which every General of division should have an independent command.

In truth, the error which has gone far to render the scheme abortive, is fundamental. It is the error against which the Government was emphatically warned by the authority that it had consulted and that was best able to advise; and the results of neglecting that warning are precisely those that were foretold. Under the short-sighted leadership of Sir John Lawrence, it was lured astray by the *ignis fatuus* of a false economy, which, as our opening statement shows, it has failed to secure. Rejecting the advice of skilled counsellors, it confided the task of devising and executing a scheme to the Sanitary Commission, a body almost necessarily devoid of any special qualification for the purpose. The result is before us. The expenditure has now exceeded that estimated in the scheme of the Asiatic Society and which appeared so formidable, and has proved "a loss of money, entailing only disappointment on all who look to the registration of Indian meteorology to give information of value."

In general, it is easy to condemn, less easy to remedy and re-construct ; but in the present case there is no difficulty in indicating the course that must be followed in order to avoid the errors of the past. The present failure is so manifestly due to the absence of purpose and of united effort, and to incompleteness of system, that the mere concentration of the management in the hands of one qualified chief will at once remove most of the causes of imperfection. Without going so far as to assert that the Asiatic Society's scheme is perfect in all its parts, we believe that in its principles and main features it furnishes the groundwork of a very effectual reform. Experience has shown that it is not practicable to obtain good registers, even of the ordinary kind, on a purely gratuitous or voluntary system. This necessitates an item of expenditure not contemplated in the scheme. But, on the other hand, the present outlay on the mere collection of data is, we think, in excess of that which is absolutely needful, and out of all proportion to that which is incurred for utilizing the records so obtained. The saving that may be effected on the former will at least go some way to provide what is yet needed for the latter. Let, then, the present system be consolidated and reformed. Let the best man there can be found for the purpose, a good physicist at all events, be appointed Director or Superintendent for the whole of India, and let it be left to him to carry out reforms, and to bring together and discuss results. In this work the local officers or reporters (for their retention will probably be found necessary) may give good assistance. In the laboratories of the great chemists of Europe, it is customary for the pupils to carry outtrains of research, of which the leading ideas are furnished by the director and teacher ; and thus, instead of the pupils wasting labour by re-treading the oft-trod ground of their manuals, and instead of the thoughts and suggestions of the chemist being left unfruitful for want of time to elaborate them and work them out, science is advanced by a judicious division of labour. May we not take a useful hint from this practice ? It is not every man who possesses the suggestive faculty in the degree requisite for originating scientific enquiry. It is comparatively a rare gift. But many who are in a great measure devoid of it, may do good work in following out and verifying an idea once put before them. Some such idea was probably in Colonel Strachey's mind, when, as he recently stated at a meeting of the Asiatic Society, he proposed to Government to invite Professor Tyndall to India for a few years to set on foot an investigation of Indian meteorology. The proposal was, we believe, accepted by Government, and the invitation made ; but the project had to be abandoned in consideration of the imperious demands of Professor Tyndall's engagements at home.

Men of Professor Tyndall's standing are not, of course, often to be met with, and the utmost that could be expected of such a one, would be a visit of a year or two to a country, which, as a place of residence, presents but few attractions to a man of active intellect. But, as a field for research, more specially of meteorological research, perhaps no country in the world offers a richer promise. And among the young and ambitious men now pressing forward to the front rank of science, some one might be induced by this consideration to forego for a year or two the advantages of Europe, in order to work out, in a country exceptionally favoured by nature for the purpose, some of the great unsolved problems which physical meteorology presents. Could such a man be found, it might be well worth our while to add to this natural inducement any pecuniary offer that might tempt him for a time to India,—to put a little meaning and purpose into our work, to lay a foundation, and sketch out a plan that lesser workmen could complete. The impulse once given—this uncreative and purposeless plodding once broken in upon, men of second-rate powers might be left to carry on the work.

We have spoken of the richness of the field which India presents to the meteorologist. In the natural advantages that it possesses for meteorological enquiry, it is perhaps unequalled, certainly unsurpassed, by any equally accessible region. And we are not alone in this opinion. The President of the Asiatic Society took occasion in his recent annual address to draw attention prominently to the peculiar advantages that we possess in India for advancing the science of meteorology, and a similar opinion has been more than once expressed by others equally interested in the subject. Let us note, in a few words, some of the more prominent of these advantages. We shall state them in very general terms; but it is not our intention to attempt more than an illustration of the fact, and general terms will suffice for the purpose.

We need hardly remind our readers that the heat of the sun is the primary cause of all atmospheric movements and changes, as indeed of nearly all other movement and change on the earth. But since every change is in its turn the cause of other changes, and these again of effects still more remote, the resulting phenomena speedily become so complex, that in extra-tropical countries, where meteorology has been chiefly studied, the laws of the direct solar action can only be detected, in most cases, as small residual regularities, when the irregularities which are the only obvious phenomena have been eliminated, by discussing the observations of long periods. In the tropics the reverse case holds: the regular variations are predominant, and the more so, the nearer any place is to the *locus* of greatest heat. Now the thermal

equator of the earth, the line of greatest mean temperature, traverses a considerable portion of India, and, as Dove's charts show, this is one of the hottest parts of that line, and India therefore is one of the hottest regions on the earth's surface. During a considerable portion of the year a centre of insolation is situated within India, and all the phenomena of direct solar action are here exhibited in their most favourable and striking form. We have examples of this fact in the well known predominance of the barometric tides (as they are termed), which here produce an oscillation of the barometric column twice daily, amounting to about one-tenth of an inch on an average; and which are never suppressed, except during the actual passage of a cyclone vortex. Meteorologists are by no means agreed as the cause of these tides. Dove and Sabine, for instance, attribute them to the action of the sun's heat on the two constituents of the atmosphere—dry air and water vapour; Lamont to the sun's electric action, and Broun to magnetism; while those who, with ourselves, are inclined to the first view, differ greatly in their conceptions of the *modus operandi* of the agent. For the solution of such problems as this, India offers overwhelming advantages.

So far as to the intensity of the agent. But the effect, as is well known, varies with the character of the earth's surface. The greatest contrast is presented by extensive tracts of land and sea, a contrast which is usually spoken of as that of continental and maritime conditions. On large tracts of land the heat of the sun is mainly expended in heating the ground and the lower strata of the air; while at night the heat of the earth is freely radiated into space. On the other hand, where the heat is incident on a sea surface, it is employed chiefly in evaporating the water, and the vapour or partially condensed vapour, suspended in the air, prevents any considerable cooling at night. As may be verified by any one who makes a sea voyage, the temperature of the sea water scarcely varies more than a degree during the twenty-four hours, and the air above it only two or three degrees. In dry regions, on the other hand, the diurnal range of the thermometer is sometimes as much as 60°. In India, in the tract to the west of the Aravalli range, and on the seas which enclose the peninsular, we have this contrast of conditions in an extreme form, and every intermediate gradation is to be met with in one part or another of this great country. Other contrasts again are presented in the snow-capped Himalaya and the Gangetic plain at its foot; in the arid plains and hills of the Punjab, and the rich damp forests of the Western Ghats and Eastern Bengal; in the table lands of Mysore, Central India and Bundelcund, and the plains of the Carnatic and Bengal, each differing from the other in some essential character, and each therefore

causing a different modification of the sun's action on the atmosphere. Hence the great variety of climate to be met with within our territories.

Finally, a third and prominent peculiarity, which has hitherto attracted little attention, but which is of high importance to our present object, is the remarkable persistence, not only of the regular and recurrent features of our climate, but of minor irregularities in the distribution of heat and atmospheric pressure, and consequently of wind, rainfall and all other weather-elements,—a state of things which is peculiarly favourable to the study of their interdependence. It is well known that our seasons differ considerably in different years, and very frequently any anomalous character in the beginning of a season lasts throughout. If, for instance, there is an unusually heavy rainfall in one district or province, and an absence of rain in another, in June and July, the excess in the one and drought in the other frequently continues throughout the rainy season. Such was the case in the autumn of 1868, when the rainfall in parts of Bengal was the heaviest on record, while the North-Western Provinces, Rajputana and a portion of the Punjab, suffered severely from drought and consequent famine. The recurrent famines in Orissa afford another sad illustration of the same fact. In the latter province, the deficiency of rainfall apparently depends on the prevalence of westerly winds, and it is probable that these will eventually be found to depend in their turn on an excess of atmospheric pressure in Rajputana and the dry tracts to the westward, over that of Bengal, such as always exists during the hot season. Whatever be the cause, its persistence is implied in the persistence of the effect, and thus it seems possible not only to trace out the causes of these famines, but even, it may be to some extent, to foretell them.

We have now endeavoured to show that, simply as a field for the prosecution of the science, India possesses unusual advantages; and it is on this ground that we advocate such reforms of the existing system of meteorological enquiry as will make it subservient to that object. Incidentally, we have referred in the last paragraph to one of the most important probable applications of the knowledge to be gained; and we recognise as a fact that in a poor country such as India, the expenditure of any considerable sum of the public money on meteorological registration is only to be justified by the expectation that it will yield a return in the shape of information of general utility. But we would strongly deprecate the substitution of any of the useful applications of meteorological knowledge for that of the science itself, as the immediate object of a systematic enquiry. Twice has this error been committed, and in each instance with the result of signal failure. In 1847 an attempt was made to

register temperature and rainfall for the information of the Board of Revenue, but no information of any value was obtained, nor could it have been reasonably expected from such crude data. In 1865, again, sanitary measures were the object of a similar but more costly attempt, and, once more, with the result of avowed failure. Let us now try a more rational course and make simple knowledge the first object of attainment. Perhaps we may find that the road that leads most directly to a knowledge and comprehension of our meteorology, is also the shortest road to those utilitarian objects that we have vainly sought to reach by short cuts. The experiment is at least worth the trial, and has the warrant of experience for its success. It is an aphorism so trite as to be almost a truism, that the great triumphs of modern art are based on scientific truths which were sought for for the truth's sake, and not for that of the material benefits that have flowed from them. The alchemists sought for gold and the 'elixir,' and reaped poverty and premature old age. Modern chemistry seeks simply to discover natural laws, and under her magic touch heaps of waste and refuse become rich mines of the coveted metal, and she gives chloroform and quinine to assuage pain and restore health. It is needless to multiply illustrations of a fact so patent. The general truth needs but to be stated to gain the assent of all intelligent men; nor should we assert it thus prominently, were it not that, as the present case has shown, men do not habitually and readily translate general truths into the form of their particular applications.

If the course we have advocated be followed, if meteorology be no longer confounded with fiscal questions and sanitation, but be pursued as a science under the guidance of men acquainted with physical science and its methods, perchance Revenue Boards and Sanitary Commissioners may obtain the information which they require for their own special objects, and which they have failed to obtain by their own efforts; and in some future number of the *Review* we may be able to discuss a more interesting theme than that of the present article — to substitute an account of scientific facts gained for that of inchoate attempts to gain them, and to change our title from "Meteorology in India" to "the Meteorology of India."

ART. VII.—BENGALI LITERATURE.

Lives of the Bengali Poets. By Hari Mohan Mukurjya.
Calcutta: New Sanskrit Press. 1869.

Mitra Prakas. No. 1. Dacca: 1870.

THE intellectual position of the Bengáli among the races of India may be a prominent one at the present day, but in earlier times it was one of the lowest. It is a Bengáli writer, Bábú Rajendralála Mitra, who has said that in ancient times Bengal was the Bœotia of India. And the observation is correct. The contributions of Bengal to that ancient Indian literature which still commands the respect and attention of European scholars, were few and insignificant. The only Bengáli Sanskrit poet of any eminence was Jayadeva, and he does not stand in the first rank. There is not one Bengáli name which can compare with those of Kálidása, Mágha, Bhárávi and Sríharsa. In other departments the only distinguished Bengáli name in the older Sanskrit literature is that of Kullúka Bhatta, the commentator on Manu. The great Bengáli triumphs in the Nyáya philosophy and in law cannot be reckoned as falling within this period. The names of Raghunandana and Jagannátha belong to very recent days.

It is difficult to determine the date of the oldest Bengáli writers, but probably few of their books are more than three hundred years old. Vidyápati, whose lyrics are perhaps the finest in the language, is certainly one of the first. Mukundarám Chakravartí, commonly known as Kabi Kankan, and the author of the *Chandi* poems, lived during the reign of Akbar. The *Chaitanya Chari-támrita* is also one of the oldest Bengáli books. But, however uncertain their exact date may be, the literary productions of Bengal naturally group themselves into five separate classes, different in spirit and to some extent successive in order of time; and, if this be borne in mind, the want of exact dates need cause no difficulty in understanding the brief criticisms which follow.

The first in order are the lyric poets, at the head of whom must be placed Vidyápati. They are exclusively Vaisnavite, and their songs either celebrate the amours of Krishna or the holiness of Chaitanya. They are still sung by bands of Bairágis and are popularly known under the name of *kírttan*. Their number is immense. The present writer has in his possession a collection which contains more than three thousand of these songs, and he believes that there are other collections equally voluminous. The music to which they are set is peculiar, and is not ordinarily understood even by the professional musicians of Bengal. These, in fact, profess to hold *kírttan* music in utter contempt, but it nevertheless possesses

a sweetness and pathos not ordinarily found in Indian music. The effect, however, is often marred by the discordant sound of the cymbals and drums by which it is accompanied. But if the music is peculiar, the language is no less so. Many of these songs are probably very modern, but others are undoubtedly the most ancient extant specimens of the Bengáli language; and in these the language is more like the Hindi of Tulsi Dás than the Bengáli of the present day. Doubtless early Bengáli and early Hindi differed little, if at all, from each other, and the present divergence is due to the operation of phonetic change in the same vernacular spoken by different branches of the same race, which were separated from each other by the revolution which followed the breaking up of the great empire of the Guptas of Magadha, or by others which are now lost in the silent darkness of Indian history.

It could scarcely be expected that so immense a collection as this Vaisnavite storehouse should be of uniform merit, and one may well wish that nine-tenths of these songs had never been composed; but among the other one-tenth there are gems of rare merit, which in tenderness of feeling have never been surpassed by anything in Bengáli literature, and barely equalled by the best writers of the present day.

This school constitutes the literature of Chaitanyaism, while the second we have to notice represents Bengáli Pauranism. The principal productions of this school are the Bengáli version of the *Mahabhárata* and the *Ramáyana*. Their authors, Kasidás and Krittibás, were not mere translators of the great Indian epics. They did not attempt so much in one sense, yet they achieved something more. Taking the story and the matter in general from their great originals, they gave free scope to their own fancy, and in many places established a claim to originality. We do not mean to say that they improved upon the originals, unless it were by greatly curtailing the tremendous bulk of the Sanskrit compositions; but the new matter which they added, while it detracts from the grandeur of the original conceptions of the Sanskrit poets, would, if embodied in some other form, have given them a certain position among original writers. Mukundarám Chakravarttí—Kabi Kankan—though he followed no Sanskrit original, belongs to the same school, and deservedly enjoys a higher reputation than either Krittibás or Kasidás. Many passages of his book are touchingly beautiful, but we cannot afford space for extracts. The language of these poets shows no traces of Hindi: but it is still very different from modern Bengáli. In poetic power they are decidedly inferior to the best of the Vaisnava poets.

The third class of writers we shall notice are those who flourished under the Nuddea Raja, Krishna Chandra. They enjoy an

undeserved celebrity, and are, in our opinion, a very worthless set. The best known among them is Bhárat Chandra Ráy, who was till lately considered the best of the Bengáli poets,—an opinion not yet known eradicated, but fast losing ground. Bhárat Chandra is chiefly wholly by his *Vidhya Sundara* and his *Annadá Mangal*. Neither work has much merit, though an exception must be made in favour of the character of Hira, the flower-girl, a coarse but racy and vigorous portrait, not equalled by anything of its kind in Bengáli. One other great distinction, however, must be accorded to Bhárat Chandra. He is the father of modern Bengáli. His versification, too, is very good, and it is the model followed by many distinguished poets of the present day, as, for instance, Bábu Ranga Lál Banerji. In the higher attributes of a poet, Bhárat Chandra is far inferior to many who have preceded and followed him. His works are disfigured, too, by a disgusting obscenity which unfits them for republication at a time when Bengáli readers are not all of the rougher sex.

There is perhaps nothing more lamentable in the whole history of literature than the school of Bengáli writers who followed the Nuddea poets and preceded the present generation. There is scarcely any readable work (readable even in the sense in which Bhárat Chandra's poems are readable) belonging to that age—the age of the *Naba Babu Bilas* and the *Prabudha Chandrika*; as for literary filth, there never was a more copious supply. Happily, the whole mass of rubbish has vanished from public recollection.

To this period belongs the well known *kabi*, of which the wealthy Hindus of the last generation were so passionately fond, and on which they lavished immense sums of money. The *kabi* was a series of songs not often much connected with each other, sung by two opposite bands of performers. Each sought to abuse the other, and the more pungent the abuse, the greater was the triumph of the abuser and the pleasure of the listeners. The singing was generally the most execrable to which human folly has ever given the name of music, though in a few cases the airs were sweet and elegant. The matter was often either common-place or laboured extravagance, though among the songs of Ram Basu, Haru Thakur and Nitai Das, there are some of peculiar excellence. The following prose translation is from one of those most popular in the present day. It may be called *The Young Wife's Lament*, and it will be understood only by those who know the very young Bengáli wife, who has learned to love but is too timid to speak :

'It is the spring of the year, and it is the spring of my life;
And the lord of my life has left me for a far distant land.
He came to me with a smile and told me he would go:
I saw that smile, and that smile filled my eyes with tears.
I could not let him go; my heart would have made him stay;

But shame said, "Fie! do not do not keep him back."
 So the sorrow of my heart is within my heart shut up.
 I would have told it to him when he went to the far-off land;
 But when I was about to speak, I could not.'

We have preferred to give this specimen rather than others of superior merit, because it is the most popular *kabi* among Bengális at the present day.

There is one other writer—himself a class—whom we wish to notice before we proceed to consider the present state of Bengáli literature. We mean Iswar Chandra Gupta. He stands between the past and the present, and singularly illustrates the literary poverty of the age in which he lived, and the progress that has been made within the last few years. A dozen years have not elapsed since Iswar Chandra Gupta died, yet we speak of him as belonging to a past era; so essentially does he differ from the more prominent writers of the present day.

He was a very remarkable man. He was ignorant and uneducated. He knew no language but his own, and was singularly narrow and unenlightened in his views; yet for more than twenty years he was the most popular author among the Bengális. As a writer of light satiric verse, he occupies the first place, and he owed his success both as a poet and as an editor to this special gift. But there his merits ended. Of the higher qualities of a poet he possessed none, and his work was extremely rude and uncultivated. His writings were generally disfigured by the grossest obscenity. His popularity was chiefly owing to his perpetual alliteration and play upon words. We have purposely noticed him here in order to give the reader an idea of the literary capacity and taste of the age in which a poetaster like Iswar Chandra Gupta obtained the highest rank in public estimation. And we cannot even say that he did not deserve to be placed in the highest rank among his Bengáli contemporaries, for he was a man of some literary talent, while none of the others possessed any. However much we may lament the poverty of Bengáli literature, the last fifteen years have been a period of great progress and hope; within that time at least a dozen writers have arisen, every one of whom is immensely superior, in whatever is valuable in a writer, to this—the most popular of their predecessors.

Strange as it may appear, this obscure and often immoral writer was one of the precursors of the modern Brahmists. The charge of obscenity and immorality mainly applies to his poetry. His prose is generally free from both vices, and often advocates the cause of religion and morality. We extract the following passage from the prose portion of the *Hita Prabhákar* to illustrate his Brahmistic tendencies. His acquaintance with the leading tenets of the ancient Indian systems of philosophy ought not to surprise

anyone, even though we have said that he was uneducated ; for they were pretty well known to most Bengális of the same amount of culture in a generation which is fast dying out.

‘O Lord there is none among men who can discover what Thou art ! Art Thou formless or form ? How may I know what Thou art ? No man can tell whether even Thou knowest Thyself, for art Thou not the Unknowable ? What name can I give Thee, but Thou ? What else can I call Thee ? Shall I call Thee the conditioned or the unconditioned ? The active or the inactive ? The unmade or the maker ? The sum of all qualities or the absolute ? The one alone or the aggregate of all ? What shall I call Thee ? Who will tell me what I shall call Thee ? Philosophers have not seen the end. The Shastras do not agree. One teaches one thing, and another teaches another. * * * Each has gone as far as his powers lead him, but the indescribable could not be described, and no eye of human knowledge could reach so far as where Thou went. O Father, what is this which calls itself Me ? I know not myself ; how then can I know Thee ? Who is this I ? Why do I call myself me ? Is it by my own power I call myself me, or is it Thou ? and is the power Thine ? Say, whose is the power to call myself me, mine or Thine ? Who says it ? Who says what I have said, I or Thou ? Why have I this body ? or is the body mine ? Why has a body been attached to me to make me a corporeal being ? and why is this body self-conscious ? What is this body ? and who am I that inhabit it ! Am I the same being which I was, when I first became myself within this body ?’

Iswar Chandra Gupta is now fast falling into oblivion, and we must proceed to notice the class of writers who have superseded him. But before doing so, we must premise a few words on the present general condition of Bengáli literature.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of Bengal at the present day is the large amount of literary activity to be found there in comparison with other parts of India. But while books and newspapers are daily pouring from the press, the quality of our current literature is by no means proportioned to its bulk. In fact, by far the greatest part what is published is absolute rubbish. There are several modern Bengali books of which we shall have to speak in terms of high praise, but the number of these is so small in comparison with the mass of publications yearly vomited forth by the Bengali press, that they go but a little way towards redeeming the character of the whole. We can scarcely expect a better state of things from the class of men who compose the rank and file of Bengali authors and Bengali critics. Authorship in Bengal is the vocation of half-educated scribblers. The educated native has a sort of ultra-utilitarian contempt for the office, and considers himself above writing in his own language. The case of criticism is worse. We can hardly hope for a healthy and vigorous Bengali literature in the utter absence of anything

like intelligent criticism. The educated Bengali fails in this department almost as much as the antiquated pundit, in consequence no doubt of deficient culture.

Those who are familiar with the present writers in Bengali, will readily admit that they all, good and bad alike, may be classed under two heads, the Sanskrit and the English schools. The former represents Sanskrit scholarship and the ancient literature of the country; the latter is the fruit of Western knowledge and ideas. By far the greater number of Bengali writers belong to the Sanskrit school; but by far the greater number of good writers belong to the other.

It may be said that there is not at the present day anything like an indigenous school of writers, owing nothing either to Sanskrit writers or to those of Europe. The Sanskrit school takes for its models the later Sanskrit writers, and they are remarkably deficient in originality. The greater originality of the writers of the English school is the point in which their superiority to the Sanskrit school is most marked. It is characteristic of the Sanskrit school that they seldom venture on original composition. Even Vidyāsāgar's ambition soars no higher than adaptations and a few translations. When they do venture on original composition, they are rarely caught straying beyond the beaten track, beyond a reverential repetition of things which have been said over and over again from time immemorial. If love is to be the theme, Madana is invariably put into requisition with his five flower-tipped arrows; and the tyrannical king of Spring never fails to come to fight in his cause, with his army of bees, and soft breezes, and other ancient accompaniments. Are the pangs of separation to be sung? The moon is immediately cursed and anathematized, as scorching the poor victim with her cold beams. The Kokila is described as singing him to destruction; and bees and soft breezes and sweet flowers are enumerated in the order in which they were marshalled in prehistoric times. No lovely woman in the pages of these writers has any other form of loveliness than a moon face, lotus eyes, hair that is a cloud, and a nose that resembles Garuda's beak.

In point of style these writers hardly shine more than in ideas. Time-honoured phrases are alone employed; and a dull pompous array of high-sounding Sanskrit words continues to grate on the ear in perpetual recurrence. Anything which bears the mark of foreign origin, however expressive or necessary it may be, is jealously excluded.

It was reserved to Tekchánd Thakur to deal the first blow to this insufferable pedantry, and all honour to the man who did it. Endowed as he was with strong common sense as well as high culture, he saw no reason why this idol of unmixed

diction should receive worship at his hands, and he set about writing *Aláker Gharer Dulál* in a spirit at which the Sanskritists stood aghast and shook their heads. Going to the opposite extreme in point of style, he vigorously excluded from his works, except on very rare occasions, every word and phrase that had a learned appearance. His own works suffered from the exclusion, but the movement was well-timed. In matter he scattered to the winds the time-honoured common-places, and drew upon nature and life for his materials. His success was eminent and well-deserved.

In Tekchánd Thakur's steps followed other writers who met with equal or greater success, among whom we may name Kali Prosunno Singh as a novelist, Michael Madhusudan Datta as a poet, and Dinabandhu Mitra as a dramatist.

There are few Bengalis now living who have a greater claim to our respect than Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyaságar. His exertions in the cause of Hindu widows, the noble courage with which he, a pundit and a professor, first advocated their cause, the patient research and indefatigable industry with which he sought to maintain it, his large-hearted benevolence, and his labours in the cause of vernacular education—all these things combine to place him in the front rank of the benefactors of his country. His claims to the respect and gratitude of his countrymen are many and great, but high literary excellence is certainly not among them. He has a great literary reputation; so had Iswar Chandra Gupta: but both reputations are undeserved, and that of Vidyaságar scarcely less so than that of Gupta. If successful translations from other languages constitute any claim to a high place as an author, we admit them in Vidyaságar's case; and if the compilation of very good primers for infants can in any way strengthen his claim, his claim is strong. But we deny that either translating or primer-making evinces a high order of genius; and beyond translating and primer-making Vidyaságar has done nothing. His brief discourse on Sanskrit literature deserves, and his widow marriage pamphlets claim, no notice here. If we exclude the school-books for children, his translations are five in number:—the *Betal Panchabinsati* from the Hindi; *Sakuntalá*, *Sítár Banabás*, and the introduction to the *Mahábhárat* from the Sanskrit; and the *Bhrántibilás* or *Comedy of Errors* from the English. Of these it is enough to say that they are excellent translations or adaptations, better probably than anything else of the same kind in Bengali. The *Sítár Banabás* is as little original as the others. The first chapter is taken from the *Uttara Rámacharita*, Bhavabhuti's noble work; and the remaining three from the *Ramayana* itself, from which Bhavabhuti too drew his inspiration. It is in fact a reproduction, in smooth and flowing

but somewhat nerveless language, of scenes selected from Valmiki's poem. The scenes are well chosen, and the expulsion of the supernatural element gives them a more realistic tone, but Vidyasagar is not free from the tautology and bombast which always disfigure the writings of the school to which he belongs.

The only other writer of the Sanskrit school whom we shall stop to mention, is Pandit Ram Narayan Tarkaratna; and we mention him more on account of his reputation than for any merit to be found in his writings. Among his plays are *Kulin Kula Sarbaswa*, directed against the evils of Kulinism, and *Naba Nátak*, a protest against polygamy. He has also made translations of the *Ratnavali*, the *Malati Madhava* and *Sakuntala*. These translations are execrably bad, and, like his original works, full of bombastic writing. On the whole we consider that this writer's popular reputation is entirely undeserved.

It is with pleasure that we turn from him to the Anglicist school of writers. We have already mentioned Tekchand Thakur, the *nom de plume* of Babu Peary Chand Mitra. His best work is the *Aláler Gharer Dulál*, which may be said to be the first novel in the Bengali language. The story is extremely simple and may soon be told. Baburam Babu of Baidyabati is an old Kulin Brahman, who has amassed a large fortune by fleecing the suitors in a Court of which he was an employé. He has retired on his gains, and is a zemindar and merchant. He has four children, two sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Mati Lal, is an ignorant, selfish, dissipated young fellow—spoiled from the effect of the over-indulgent treatment of his father. A Gurumahásay who had taught him Bengali, an ignorant Pujari Brahman, employed from motives of economy as Sanskrit tutor, and a retired tailor who instructed him in Persian, laboured, as might have been anticipated, with but indifferent success. The Gurumahasay, after some little time, retired from office in consequence of the playful habits of his pupil, who used to put quick-lime in his daily whey, deposit burning embers in the folds of his garments, and indulge in many other like pleasantries. The Pujari resigned because he found it impossible to restrain his scholar's habit of throwing brick-bats at the head of his instructor, as occasion offered. The Múnshí's experience as a teacher abruptly closed, on the occasion of his discovering that Mati Lal had amused himself by setting fire to his venerable beard.

Highly gratified with the progress which his son had made in Oriental learning, Baburam Babu now thought it time that he should learn English. So Mati Lal was sent to Calcutta, where he attended an English school. But he did no more good at English than at Persian and Sanskrit, and preferred to devote his time with other congenial spirits to cards, dice, cock-fighting,

kite-flying, and other amusements. At the same time he took to smoking tobacco and charas, as well as to drinking brandy. One day he and his companions were taken up by the police for gambling in a house of ill-fame. They were all convicted and imprisoned, except Mati Lal himself, who got off through the masterly way in which Miyáján Miya, an old friend of his father, proved an *alibi*. However, this occurrence put an end to Mati Lal's English studies, and he at once returned home and soon afterwards happily married.

In the meantime the younger brother Ram Lal grew up, and followed a totally different path under the care of Baradá Babu, an intelligent and cultivated man. He took kindly to his books, behaved well to his father and other relatives, had a courteous demeanour towards all he met, and was in fact a model of all that a boy should be. But, for some reason or other, Baburám and his friends disapproved of this sort of thing, and determined to get rid of Baradá Babu. The natural way to do this was a criminal charge. So, with the assistance of Miyáján Miya, a serious charge was made against the unoffending Baradá Babu, who would have paid dearly for his folly in neglecting to fee the amlah, if he had not known English and so been able to put the facts clearly before the magistrate. For when the magistrate had heard so much of the evidence as he could listen to without neglecting his cigar, his newspaper and his private chits, the sherishtadar strongly urged a conviction, and nothing but his knowledge of English saved Baradá Babu and gained him an acquittal.

About this time Baburám Babu, who is a Kulin of high family, receives an offer of marriage likely to bring some money into his pocket, and at once closes with the proposal. Though Mati Lal's mother, a virtuous and affectionate wife, was still living, Baburám married again, and dying soon afterwards, he left two widows, one of them a mere child. Mati Lal now succeeded to the *gadi*, and celebrated his father's *sraddh* in the right fashion. Henceforth, he gave himself up to pleasure, spending money like water on sensual enjoyments of all kinds. His mother remonstrates and receives a blow for her pains, and is obliged to leave the house with her daughter, much to the delight of Mati Lal.

At length, as might have been expected, Mati Lal comes to grief, and is sold up by his creditors. He leaves home, and having arrived in the course of his wanderings at the city of Benares, he falls in with one of the learned pundits of the place, who works his reformation. There, too, he meets his mother and sister and Barada Babu, who make it up with the repentant sinner, return home with him, and live happily ever after.

This is the simple story of *Aláler Gharer Dulál*, but the mere narrative is the least merit of the book. Its real value lies in the sketches of character and pictures of Bengali life which it contains. Most Europeans know little or nothing of natives beyond what may be learned in our Courts of Justice — places infested by a class of rascals hardly to be found elsewhere, and in which even otherwise honest and truthful men consider themselves entitled to lie, just as they consider themselves entitled to throw aside all regard for caste and for morality in the temple of Vishnu at Purí. A book like this, full of real sketches from life, is, therefore, specially valuable to them. It is true that there may be exaggeration here and there; it is true that, while the knaves are life-like and full of character, the good characters are too much of mere abstractions. The females, too, are very faintly drawn. They are all alike, and they give very little idea of the influence which the wife within the zenana walls exercises in Indian daily life. But still the characters and pictures, such as they are, give the book a real value. We have not space for long quotations, but the following passage will give some notion of the author's vigorous and natural, if sometimes rather rough and homely, style.

'Baburám Babu is sitting as a Babu should. A servant is rubbing his legs. On one side are seated some pundits jabbering about shastras, maintaining that pumpkins are prohibited on one particular day and brinjals on another, that to take salt with milk is in effect to eat beef, and otherwise raising a clatter like the *dhenki*. In another direction is a party of chess-players: one of them leans his head on his hand and is lost in thought; ruin impends over him, for he is about to be checkmated. On another side some musicians are tuning their instruments. The *tanpura* is giving forth its purring sound. Elsewhere accountants are writing up their books. In front stand debtor ryots and creditor shop-keepers whose debts and claims are being enquired into, and admitted or denied. The *baitak-khana* is swarming with people; the mahajuns are crying out that they gave their goods on credit, some two, some four years ago, and that they are sore put to it for want of payment; that they have come time after time for their money without getting it; that their business is all but stopped. Petty traders like the oil-man, fuel-supplier and grocer, are pleading their cause pathetically and humbly. "We are ruined, sir," they say, "we are weak like the *pooti* fish; how can we subsist if you treat us so? The muscles of our legs are worn out with coming to your house for the money. Our shops are closed. Our wives and children are starving." The *dewanji* replies, "Go to-day; of course you will get your money; why do you make such a fuss about it?" If any one speaks boldly after this, Baburám Babu waxes wrathful, abuses the man and turns him out.'

Besides *Aláler Gharer Dulál*, Tekchand Thakur has written several minor works. *Rámá Ranjiká* chiefly consists of a series

of dialogues between a husband and his wife on various social and moral topics. It is intended for the use of ladies learning to read and write late in life. *Mad khawa bara dáy — jât thákár ki upáy*, is devoted, like many other recent Bengali books, to an exposition of the evils of drunkenness. *Jat Kinchit* is a not very interesting exposition of the Brahmist religion. *Abhedí*—Tekchand Thakur's latest work—treats of the same subject, and has brought down upon him the wrath of the redoubtable Babu Keshub Chunder Sen and his followers.

From Tekchand to 'Hutam' is an easy transition. For Kali Prosunno Singh, or 'Hutam,' was one of the most successful writers in the style first introduced by Tekchand. In early youth he made several translations from the Sanskrit, and in particular he is the author of a translation of the *Mahabharata*, which may be regarded as the greatest literary work of his age. But it is not as a translator that he is known to fame, and familiar to almost every Bengali, but as the author of *Hutam Pyanchá*, a collection of sketches of city-life, something after the manner of Dickens' *Sketches by Boz*, in which the follies and peculiarities of all classes, and not seldom of men actually living, are described in racy vigorous language, not seldom disfigured by obscenity. Among them are the *Charak Puja*, the *Bárah Yári*, *Popular Excitements*, *Charlatancy*, *Babu Pudma Lochan Datta* or the *Sudden Incarnation*, and *Snan Jattrá*. The following short extract will give some notion of his style. The scene is laid in the native quarter of Calcutta after nightfall.

'The noise of the bell and the brass-worker has ceased to proclaim that it is still early. The lamps in every street are lighted. Bel flowers and ice-cream and curds are offered for sale by loud-voiced hawkers. The front doors of wine-shops are closed as the law directs, but men who wish to buy are not sent away empty. Gradually the darkness thickens. At this time, thanks to English shoes, striped Santipur scarfs and Simla dhutis, you can't tell high from low. Groups of fast young men, with peals of laughter and plenty of English talk, are knocking at this door and that. They left home when they saw the lamps lighted in the evening, and will return when the flour-mills begin to work. They haunt in crowds the poultry-market in Machua Bazar and the crossing in Chor Bagan Street. Some cover their faces with scarfs, and think that no one recognizes them. Others shout, cough, sneeze, and otherwise display their exuberant spirits. The office clerk has washed his hands and face and taken his brief evening meal, and is now busy with his guitar. In the next room little boys are bawling out their lessons from Vidyaságar's spelling book. Goldsmiths have lighted their small earthen lamps, and are preparing to set about their business. The cloth merchants, braziers, and furniture dealers have shut their shops for the night; and the money-changer is counting his cash and estimating his gains.

Fishwomen in the decaying Sobha Bazar market are selling—lamps in hand—their stores of putrid fish and salted *hilsa*, and coaxing purchasers by calling out, "You fellow with the napkin on your shoulder, will you buy some fine fish?" "You fellow with a moustache like a broom, will you pay four annas?" Some one, anxious to display his gallantry, is rewarded by hearing something unpleasant of his ancestors. Smokers of *madat* and *ganjah*, and drunkards who have drunk their last pice, are bawling out, "Generous men, pity a poor blind Brahman," and so procure the wherewithal for a new debauch. * * * * * It is the evening of the *Áila*, and a Saturday, and the city is unusually crowded. Hanging lanterns and wall-lamps shed their light in the betel shops. The air is full of the scent of the flowers hawked about the streets. In some houses over the street, lessons are being given in dancing, and passers-by stand open-mouthed below enjoying the tinkling music. On one side a fight is going on. A constable has caught a thief and is dragging him away with his hands tied; other thieves are laughing and enjoying the fun, and blessing their stars for their own good luck, quite forgetting that their turn will come some other day.'

In the morning the scene is changed :—

'Ding-dong, ding-dong, sounds the clock in the Church. It is four in the morning, and night-wandering Babus have turned their faces homewards. Oorya Brahmans are at work on the flour-mills. Street lamps are growing faint. Light breezes are blowing. Quails are singing in the verandas of the night-houses. But for this, or when the crows begin to caw, or a street dog occasionally barks for want of something else to do, the city is still silent. By-and-by you see groups of women going to the river-side to bathe, and discussing among themselves the fact that Ram's mother cannot walk, that the fourth daughter-in-law in another house is a shrew, and that another woman is hideous. Butchers from Chitpore are coming in with loads of mutton. Police surgeons, darogahs and jemadars, and other specimens of the 'terror of the poor,' who have finished their rounds, are walking back to their stations with sounding steps, their girdles and pockets filled with rupees, small silver and pice. They are not too proud to accept a bit of fuel, a chillum of tobacco, or a roll of *pán*. Some are coming back angry with the city because it has disappointed their hopes, and are busy revolving in their minds the best means of making some rich man feel their dignity and power.

'Loud booms the morning gun. The crows are cawing noisily, and leaving their nightly shelter. Shop-keepers open their shutters, bow before Gandheswari, sprinkle Ganges water on the floor, change the water in their hookas and begin to smoke. Gradually day dawns. Fishermen are hurrying along with baskets of fish. Fisherwomen are quarelling and running after them. Baskets of potatoes and brinjals from Baidyabati are coming in. The messengers of death, foreign and native, are starting in their round of visits in *gari* or *palki*,

according to their condition, without a smile in their faces unless fever or cholera is rife. * * * *

'Pundits from the *toles* and pujaris are going to bathe in the river with a change of clothes in bundles under their arms. They are in a hurry to-day because they must be with their jajmans early. Rheumatic middle-aged gentlemen are out in their morning walks. Oorya bearers, with tooth-stick in hand, are off like the rest to the water-side. The *Englishman*, the *Hurkaru* and the *Phoenix*, are being distributed to their subscribers. Native papers are like venison; they are kept for a day to get a flavour. It is different with English papers; they must be distributed before the sun is up.'

So much for Hutam.

One of the best masters of a pure and vigorous Bengali style—neither characterized by the somewhat pedantic purity of Vidya-sāgar, nor rough and homely like Tekchand and Hutam—one of the best masters, we say, of Bengali style is Babu Bhudeb Mukerjī. He has, unfortunately, written little, except works of a technical character, but his little volume of historical tales, from which we have not space to quote, is enough to show that he might have done a great deal more than he actually has done.

The next author to be considered is Mr. Michael Madhusadhun Datta, a most prolific writer of poems and plays. There is probably no writer whose merits are more variously estimated—some enthusiasts thinking him fit to compare with Kalidāsa, while others regard him as a mere poetaster. For ourselves we agree with neither, and while admitting his considerable merits, we are not prepared to rank him among great poets. He has incurred much hostile criticism by his innovations in language, and by his introduction into Bengali of the use of blank verse, but his rightful place in Bengali literature is perhaps the highest.

His poetical works are the *Meghnada Badh*, the *Telottama Sambhava*, the *Birangana* and the *Brajangana*. The two former are what in Europe would be called epic poems, and in India *mahakavyas*. Both are written in blank verse—the first instances of the kind in Bengali. Of the two, the *Telottama* was the earliest, but the *Meghnada Badh* is Mr. Datta's greatest work. The subject is taken from the *Ramayana*, the source of inspiration to so many Indian poets. In the war with Ravana, Meghnada, the most heroic of Ravana's sons and warriors, is slain by Lakshman, Rama's brother. This is the subject; and Mr. Datta owes a great deal more to Valmiki than the mere story. But, nevertheless, the poem is his own work from beginning to end. The scenes, characters, machinery and episodes, are in many respects of Mr. Datta's own creation. In their conception and development, Mr. Datta has displayed a high order of art, and to do justice to it, or even to give a suitable idea of it, would

require a much more minute examination of the poem than the space at our command will allow. To Homer and Milton, as well as to Válmiki, he is largely indebted in many ways, but he has assimilated and made his own most of the ideas which he has taken, and this poem is on the whole the most valuable work in modern Bengali literature. The characters are clearly conceived and capable of winning the reader's sympathy. The machinery, including a great deal that is supernatural, is skilfully and easily handled. The imagery is graceful and tender and terrible in turn. The play of fancy gives constant variety. The diction is richly poetic, and the words so happily chosen as constantly to bring up by association ideas congruous to those which they directly express. Nor is the verse broken up into couplets complete in themselves, in the Sanskrit fashion, but, abounding like Milton's in variety of pause, it seems to us musical and graceful, as well as a fitting vehicle for passionate feelings.

Mr. Datta, however, is not faultless. He wants repose. The winds rage their loudest when there is no necessity for the lightest puff. Clouds gather and pour down a deluge, when they need do nothing of the kind; and the sea grows terrible in its wrath, when everybody feels inclined to resent its interference. All this bombast is unworthy of Mr. Datta's genius and cultivated taste. Equally so is his constant repetition of the same images and phrases till they almost nauseate his readers. Nor is he altogether innocent of plagiarism. Homer and Valmiki are not unfrequently put under contribution, and Milton and Kalidasa have equal reason to complain.

Then again grammar might have been respected; and we must strongly protest against the constant introduction in imitation of the English idiom of such verbs as *stutila*, *swanila*, *nirghosila*.

We have given no extracts from the *Meghnáda Badh*, because we could give no adequate idea of its merits by isolated quotations. The poem is beautiful as a whole, but single passages would give no more idea of it than a brick could give of the building from which it was taken.

Of Mr. Datta's other works, the *Tilottamá Sambhava* was the earliest. It is an epic like the *Meghnada Badh*, but far inferior to that poem. The subject is the birth of Tilottama, the fairest of Brahma's creation, created for the express purpose of causing discord between the powerful Titan brothers, Sunda and Upasunda, who had expelled the Aryan gods from heaven.

We gladly turn from the *Tilottamá* to a less ambitious but more mature work, the *Birángana*. It is a series of poetical epistles from heroes' wives to their husbands. It followed the *Meghnada Badh*, and there is the same gorgeous imagery, the

same rich poetic diction, and the same musical variously modulated versification.

The *Brajāṅgaṇā* is a short and fragmentary poem in rhyme. It sings the woes of Radha during the days of her bereavement—a subject so often treated before, that novelty might seem to be impossible. Mr. Datta, however, has contrived to say much that is both new and beautiful, and he is just as successful in rhyme as in blank verse. In fact, his rhyme is the best in the language. Of his sonnets we are no great admirers, though they might serve to win a name for a less distinguished author. They were composed in Europe. One of them is dated from Versailles, and others are addressed to Dante, Professor Goldstücker, Tennyson, Victor Hugo and Italy,—a sufficiently miscellaneous list of subjects, it must be confessed.

As a dramatist, Mr. Datta is not generally successful. Among his plays are *Sarmisthā*, *Padmāvatī*, and *Krishna Kumari*; and the first mentioned in particular is very generally admired. In our judgment none of them are of much value. No Bengali writer has yet shown any real dramatic power. Even Babu Dinabandhu Mitra, the best writer in this line, entirely fails when he attempts to portray any of the higher emotions, and as for Mr. Datta, his undoubted poetic genius seems entirely to desert him as soon as he sets about writing a play. His farces, however, are good. One of them, entitled *Is this Civilization?* is the best in the language. This little work deserves notice independently of its own really great merit.

The Bengali press at the present day is very prolific, but by far the largest part of the books published are mere servile imitations of some successful author. There are imitators of Vidyasāgar, imitators of Tekchand Thakur, of Hutam, of Babu Dinabandhu Mitra and of the author of *Durgēsāndinī*; but, perhaps, no work has formed the model for so many imitators as *Is this Civilization?* It is a farce with a purpose, being intended chiefly to ridicule and so expose the vice of drunkenness and the other evils by which it is generally attended. The Burtolla Presses and shops actually overflow with little books, containing a dozen or twenty pages each, and selling for an anna or two, all directed against the vice of drunkenness. There are farces, too, of larger bulk, one of which, called *Bujhile-ki-nā*, or *Do you understand?* is very popular, and often produced at private theatricals; and these, too, like the others, are mere copies of *Is this Civilization?* This little work, therefore, independently of its being in itself one of the two best farces in the language, gains additional importance from the large number of other books written after its model.

To give any adequate idea of this clever little work by translated extracts would be entirely impossible, because half the fun

lies in the absurd jargon interlarded with English words and the cant of debating clubs in which the characters speak. The scene is laid in the "Gyan Tarangini Sabha"—a sort of scientific debating society which chiefly devotes itself to nautch girls and tippling. The types of life and character which it represents are sufficiently disgusting, and the important question is, whether the representation is correct.

To the shame of Bengal we must say that we fear the picture is a true one. The reformer who never gets beyond tipsy harangues full of English expressions, should not be confounded as he often is by Europeans with the really cultivated class. But it cannot be denied that he is a fair representative of that great horde of partly educated Babus, whose only claim to enlightenment lies in the fact that they drink, wear shabby trousers and stammer out barbarous English. These are the men who swarm in every office, and plague officials with endless applications for employment, crowd the thoroughfares of the native town in the evening, drain the liquor shops, and form the majority of his audience when Babu Keshub Chunder Sen lectures at the Town Hall. Of education, they have had nothing worth the name. Having spent a few years very unprofitably in learning a smattering of English at some Anglo-vernacular school, they started in life—if poor, at the age of eighteen, as *umedwars*. If rich, they devoted themselves from the same age with their whole strength to swinish pleasures. The country is overrun with men of this sort, and Mr. Datta's picture is true to the life; but they must not be confounded with the really cultivated class, who, in spite of all that has been said regarding the spread of English education, are comparatively few in number.

The next author whom we must mention is Babu Dinobandhu Mitra, the best Bengali dramatist, indeed the only good dramatic author. He has written altogether five plays, of which two are farces. His earliest production, the *Nil Darpan*, is better known by name to the European public than almost any other Bengali book. Its connection with the indigo riots gave it a notoriety which it certainly would not otherwise have attained. When public feeling was excited on the subject, just after that conviction of Mr. Long, which fitly preceded the extinction of a Court which had thus proved itself unable to rise above the waves of passion and prejudice; at that time *Nil Darpan* was usually spoken of as a filthy and scurrilous production, entirely devoid of literary merit. In this judgment we do not altogether coincide; but at the same time we should give it a very low place as a work of art. The importance was political, not literary; and as literature rather than politics is our present theme, we shall not discuss it at greater length.

Of Babu Dinobandhu Mitra's other plays, *Lilābati* is the most popular; but for our own part, though willingly conceding much

that may be said in its favour, we give the preference to another play, *Nabin Tapaswini*. If it has greater faults than the other, they are redeemed by greater merits. The idea of the play is taken from Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and the plot is that of a well-known Hindu nursery tale, embellished with the love adventures of a sort of Indian Falstaff. The Falstaff of the story is Jaladhur, a prime-minister, whose weight and circumference have marked an embarrassing figure, though he still retains the amorous propensities of youth. The object of his affections is Málati, the young and beautiful wife of a merchant named Kalikanta. Malati, has a cousin, Mallika, the purest of women at heart, though endowed with a sharp tongue, the rough edge of which she is not chary of using. Having learnt of Jaladhur's passion for Malati and the solicitations which he addressed to her, she put her cousin up to giving him a series of practical lessons, which form the matter of the play. First of all, Jaladhur is induced to meet his own wife under the idea that she is Malati, and his protestations of love mixed with abuse of his wife are cut short and himself put to flight by the entrance in the scene of Kalikanta, to whose wrath the spurious Mallika would have fallen a victim, if she had not saved herself by telling out to him who she was. This, however, did not occur till Jaladhur had felt the weight of his jealous wife's broom.

The next scene is in the merchant's house, where he has been led to expect that his wishes will at length be gratified. Before venturing on this, Jaladhur has induced his royal master, whose health was failing, to send Kalikanta to Arabia in search of that sovereign remedy—the flesh of the Hondol kutkutia, a fabulous animal which had no existence out of the minister's brain. By Mallika's advice, the trader, instead of starting for Arabia, conceals himself near home, and returns by agreement to the house where Jaladhur is in company with the two ladies. The gay Lothario, thus surprised, hides himself, first, for want of better shelter, with a grotesque mask to hide his head, in a cask of tar, and afterwards in a heap of cotton-wool, with results which may be imagined. At last he is advised to fly, and Mallika lets him out of a back door, immediately in front of which is a great iron cage prepared for the Arabian beast. He runs into this cage in the dark, and Mallika shuts the door. In the morning he is carried off to Court, and the people on the way crowd round the strange beast, pelt him with brick-bats and poke him with sticks, while he is so much afraid of being recognized that he squeaks and capers about, as the wild beast for which he is taken might be supposed to do. At last they meet the king, and after a time Kalikanta turns up, and the facts are in due course disclosed.

This is the comic vein of the piece, but there is also a serious plot, and the two hang together somewhat loosely. The serious

plot relates to the King and his Queen, whom he had put away years before, when she was great with child, and whom many supposed to have been murdered and all believed to be dead. He is now strongly urged to a second marriage in the interests of his kingdom, but his heart yearns for his lost Queen, whom he at length discovers in a beggar woman, with their son, now a fine young man, disguised as a hermit. The hermit loves the fair one destined for the king's second wife, and ends by marrying her.

This serious plot is poor enough, but the other story is worked out in an irresistibly comic manner. The character of Jaladhur, too, though doubtless taken in great part from Shakspeare's Falstaff is life-like and consistent, and Mallika, with her love of mischief and fun and inexhaustible fertility of resource, is Babu Dinabandhu Mitra's best female character. Jaladhur's ugly and jealous wife, too, is excellently drawn, and tickles the reader's fancy with her firm persuasion that her corpulent old husband is sighed after and inveigled by all the young women about the place.

Lilabati is a more ambitious work. Its plot is romantic and complicated, and in working it out, the melodramatic element is largely introduced. We have not space to discuss it at length, and must, therefore, content ourselves with expressing the opinion that, as in *Nabin Tapaswini* Babu Dinabandhu Mitra has proved himself the greatest humourist, so in *Lilabati* he appears as the wittiest writer in the Bengali language. Neither Tekchand nor Hutam come near him in this respect. *Lilabati* is now its author's most widely read work, since *Nil Darpan* has lost its factitious popularity but in our opinion it is rather in broad comedy and farce that its author excels than in so serious a drama.

It remains to notice Babu Dinabandhu Mitra's two farces. In the "*Old Man Mad for Marriage*," a not unfrequent kind of folly is cleverly satirized. An old man, named Rajib Mukerji, is very anxious to be married, and people are wont to irritate him by proposing as a match an ugly black-faced Dom woman, known as "Panchua's mother." Some school-boys determine to play him a trick. A sham Ghatak, or match-maker, is sent to him. The preliminary arrangements are completed, and Rajib is to be married. One of the most mischievous among the boys is dressed up as a girl to personate the bride, and some of the neighbours represent her male and female friends. The mock ceremony is gone through, and Rajib passes the night in jollification with the boys. His horrors may be imagined on awaking in the morning and finding that the bride by his side is "Panchua's mother," who offers a young sucking pig to his caresses as their adopted child.

The other farce, *Sadhabár Ekádasi*, is more cleverly written, but unfortunately it is so disfigured by obscenity that we can

neither quote nor analyze it. A great deal of its author's charm, too, lies in his wit, and this it is utterly impossible for us to reproduce in English, depending as it does on similarities between the sounds of Bengali words and ideas which are almost incomprehensible to a foreigner.

There are several other writers still remaining to be noticed, but the limited space at our disposal compels us to bring the present paper to a close. Babu Ranga Lál Banerji is a poet with a high reputation among his countrymen, but we must say that he has done very little to deserve it. His three poems are—*Padmini*, *Karmadebi* and *Surasundari*, all three being versified stories of Rajput women, taken from Tod's *Rajasthan*. *Padmini* is perhaps the best. This writer belongs to the school of Bhârat Chandra, though, unlike the old author, he is free from obscenity. Indeed, such merits as he has are chiefly of a negative character.

Babu Hem Chunder Banerji, though less known to fame, is a far better poet. His *Indra's Nectar Feast* is a spirited imitation of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*.

Among the romance writers, Babu Protap Chandra Ghose, author of '*Bangâdhip Parâjay*,' has recently been noticed at length in this review. The only other writer of this class whose works it seems necessary to notice, is Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, whose *Durgesnandini*, *Kapâl Kundalâ* and *Mri-lanini* are among the most popular of Bengali books. Perhaps we cannot do better than give a brief sketch of the story of *Kapâl Kundalâ* which, if not the best, is the shortest and most easily reproduced of the three. The story then runs thus :—

A young Brahman named Naba Kumar, on his return from Ganga Ságar, was left by his companions on a deserted part of the coast of Hidgelee. The only inhabitant of the place was a '*Kapâlika*,' or member of one of those strange sects which practised the wild and terrible Tantric forms of worship — whose temple is the burning ghat, and for whom no rite is too bloody and disgusting. From him the young man obtained food and shelter. Having provided for his necessities, his unattractive host, with his drinking cup of human skull, went on a journey with a promise to return again. But day after day passed and no *Kâpâlika* appeared, till at length Naba Kumâr, weary of waiting, determined to find his own way, if possible, through the pathless wilderness of jungle in which the hermit's cave stood, to some region inhabited by men. But in the attempt he utterly lost his way, and the following scene then occurs, which we quote because it is a favourite with native readers :—

'He now perceived that he could not even find his way back. The deep roar of the water boomed in his ear and he recognized the voice of the ocean. Suddenly emerging from the thicket, he saw the sea spread before him. The infinite expanse of the dark waters filled him

with a sublime joy. He sat down on the sandy beach. The dark foamy endless waters ! Far as the eye could reach on either side, long white lines of foam flashed on the crest of the waves as they broke on the flat line of the beach, and shone against the golden sand like a garland of snow-white flowers. But over the expanse of ocean, too, a thousand waves were dancing and breaking into foam. If the wind could reach the stars and set them in motion across the background of the sky, this alone could fitly image the sight of the white foam-spots on the dark waters of the sea. The sun was about to set, and where the line of soft light fell, the water was transformed to molten gold. And in the distance some European ships could be descried, skimming the ocean like gigantic birds with great white spreading wings.

How long Naba Kumár continued to gaze at the ocean, he could not tell. Suddenly the darkness of night came down on the bosom of the deep, and he then remembered that his way back must be found.

Turning his back to the sea, he saw a magnificent vision. There stood on the sandy beach of the deep-sounding sea, dimly seen in the twilight, the figure of a woman such as he had never seen before. Her cloudlike tresses confined by no hand, flowed down below her knee in long serpentine curls. * * Her face was partly hidden, but it shone like the moon through a break in the clouds. There was a mild and subdued light in her large eyes. Her expression was grave : but her face beamed on him like the moon now newly risen over the surface of the deep.'

The young woman thus described in language rather more lofty than distinct, turns out to be a Kapál Kundala, a girl who had been saved from the wreck of one of those Portuguese pirate ships, which in old times ravaged the whole coast of Bengal in search of slaves, and who had been brought up by the Kápalika hermit in his solitary dwelling for ultimate purposes of which she knew nothing. She had imbibed from him a deep veneration for his goddess Káli, but her soul revolted from the human sacrifices which the Kápalika offered to Kali whenever occasion offered. The two returned to the hermit's cell, and it soon appeared that Naba Kumár was intended for sacrifice. His host, who was a man of vast strength, had tied him to the stake and would have at once carried out his purpose, but Kapál Kundala concealed the sacrificial knife, and when the Kápalika went to look for it, she cut the prisoner's bonds and the two took at once to flight. After a time they reached a solitary shrine, and induced the pújari to marry them, Nobo Kumár, it is needless to say, being deeply enamoured of his companion, and she having no objection to marriage because she had no idea what it meant. The pujari showed them, too, the way to Midnapore, from whence Naba Kumár's residence at Saptagrám was easily reached.

This was not Naba Kumár's first marriage. He had been married once before, but while his wife was a mere child; and she having

been converted with her father to the Muhammadan faith, they had left the country together, so that husband and wife had never met after the day of their marriage. A strange adventure now befel on the way back to Saptagram. Naba Kumar, having done some trifling service to a Musalman lady of great wealth and apparently high rank, she asked his name and residence, and learned that he was her husband. For the lady was his wife, now Lutf-un-nissa, the favourite courtesan whose lisp and beauty had won her power and wealth among the courtiers at Agra, where her father had risen to eminence through the favour of Akbar. As a mark of gratitude for the service rendered to her, she presented Kapál Kundala with a magnificent set of jewels, which the ignorant girl gave away in complete ignorance of their use and value to the first beggar on the road. Lutf-un-nissa was on her way back from Orissa, whither she had gone in furtherance of an intrigue to divert the succession from Prince Selim. A strange Nemesis had now overtaken her. She who boasted that she carried a heart of stone which neither prince nor courtiers could touch—she was now conquered by the poor wandering but handsome Brahman who had once been her husband. Arrived in Agra, she found Selim seated on the throne, and obtained his permission to return to Bengal. She came to Saptagram, took a house, and spread her net for the affection of Naba Kumar. Finding, however, an insurmountable obstacle in his constant love for Kapál Kundala, she determined on a bold scheme for undermining it.

Kapál Kundala had now been more than a year in Naba Kumar's house. Her name, owing to its Tantric import, was changed to Mrinmayi. She herself had been to a certain extent reclaimed from the character of a child of the wilderness, but she regretted the change. Naba Kumar loved her ardently, but she did not return his feeling. Her heart was pre-occupied by the great goddess Kali, to whose service she was fanatically devoted. She would have died for Naba Kumar, if necessary, but she did not love him, and she could not bear the restraints of the zenana. Setting his authority at nought, she one night stole out into the jungle to gather herbs for a female friend, who wanted them for a philter. Approaching an old ruin, she overheard some conversation which seemed to concern herself. She was detected listening by one of the talkers who appeared to be a Brahman youth. She was seized with fear and fled. She saw she was being followed, and before she reached home and closed the door behind her, she recognized the well-known stalwart form of the Kapalika.

The Kápálíka, when his victims had escaped, had given chase, but had fallen and broken his arm. While he lay helpless in bed, Bhawáni had appeared to him in a dream and demanded Kapál

Kundala as a sacrifice. When the use of his limbs had been recovered, he spent nights and days in searching for her, and at length he had succeeded. But he needed assistance in bringing her to the sacrificial altar, and while watching his opportunity, he met Lutf-un-nissa disguised for purposes of her own as a Brahman youth, and it was these two whom Kapál Kundala had disturbed in their consultations. The two did not agree. Lutf-un-nissa's object was to separate Kapál Kundala from her husband, but she would not consent to violence of any kind. Finding the Kápálíka resolved in his purpose, Lutf-un-nissa determined to save Kapál Kundala by telling her the facts, and then to work on her feelings of gratitude. Accordingly, next day, Kapál Kundala found on her path a note from the disguised Brahman inviting a second meeting in the wood, and promising important disclosures. No other Hindu wife would have kept the appointment, but she did, and not unnoticed.

Kapál Kundala, when going out the night before, had been seen by Naba Kumar, who, though not yet jealous, might readily have been made so. He watched the second night, and found her going out again; and to add to his torments, Lutf-un-nissa's note had dropped unperceived on the floor. He picked it up and read it, and determined to follow. But almost before he had got outside the house, the Kápálíka stood before him. Disappointed in Lutf-un-nissa, the terrible devotee now sought to secure the assistance of Naba Kumar himself by working on his jealousy. He told Naba Kumar of his own fall and loss of strength, and of Bhawani's command, and called on him to assist in the sacrifice of his wife, whom at the same time he denounced as a fallen traitress. If he wanted proof, he bade him follow; and the two plunged together into the thicket.

Kápál Kundala had met Lutf-un-nissa in the wood, and the latter, after telling her the Kápálíka's story and letting her fully understand his terrible purpose, disclosed also her own identity and history, and the object she had in view. She promised Kapál Kundala riches and comfort in some foreign land, if only she would leave her husband without warning. To this she might have consented, having no real love for her husband, but when once she had heard the will of Bhawani, nothing remained for her but to fulfil it. She left the place, and at a little distance fell in with the Kapálíka and Naba Kumar. For they had been watched throughout. Naba Kumar was fearfully excited by drink administered to him by the Kápálíka, and was ready to carry out the hermit's purpose. They all went together to the place of sacrifice—the burning ghat, which is minutely described in all its horrid details, with its crowd of vultures, half-burnt human bodies, and heaps of skulls and bones in all directions. Then they prepared to worship according to the rites of the Tantrikas. Naba Kumar took Kapál

Kundala to the water-side to bathe her before she should be sacrificed. There an explanation was given. He begged her to come again. She declared her intention of fulfilling Bhawani's will, and while the debate between them was going on, just as he stretched out his hand to seize her and force her to return, the bank beneath her feet gave way, and she fell into the deep stream below. He leaped after her. Both for a time disappeared. The Kápálíka length dragged Naba Kumar to land, but Kapál Kundala was seen or heard of no more. And so the story ends, much to the disappointment of most Bengali readers, who much prefer the orthodox ending, where all live happily ever after.

Mrinalini is a book of a very different stamp, and many consider it Babu Bankim Chandra Chatarji's most successful production.

But here must end our brief and imperfect sketch of Bengal literature—a literature which, with much that is feeble and base and utterly worthless, yet has within it what may encourage no small degree of hope for the future. Its character is for the most part imitative, but what literature, save that of Greece, has ever been independent and original in its youth? Once and again has a voice from that holy land of beauty and truth awakened the torpid heart and mind of Western Europe. Horace himself, the most spontaneous and genuine of all the Latin poets, entertained no higher idea of originality than to make it consist in the importation of a new form of poetry from Greece. An imitator in those days meant an imitator of Latin authors—the imitation of Greek being almost implied in the excellence of any work. And when Europe woke again from the long sleep which followed on the dissolution of the Roman Empire, it was on the translation and imitation of Greek and Latin authors that its energies were employed. Is there no imitation in Dante himself? It may seem improbable that European ideas will ever really be assimilated by the people of India—that all we can effect here is a superficial varnish of sham intelligence. But everything cannot come in a day, and there was a time when it would have seemed almost equally improbable that the little remnant of intelligence preserved in the Latin Church, and the study of classical antiquity, would have grown into what we now see among the Celtic and Teutonic peoples of the West. The Bengalis may not seem to have the fibre for doing much in the way of real thought any more than of vigorous action; but it was chiefly among the supple and pliant Italians that the revival of learning in Europe began; and it is possible to imagine that the Bengalis—the Italians of Asia, as the *Spectator* has called them—are now doing a great work, by, so to speak, acclimatising European ideas and fitting them for reception hereafter by the hardier and more original races of Northern India.

ART. VIII.—A CHAPTER FROM MUHAMMADAN HISTORY.

THE HINDU RAJAS UNDER THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT.

THE early Muhammadan Historians of India, invaluable as their works are in other respects, give but scanty information on a subject which prominently occupies the attention of modern writers—the condition and progress of the people. Most of them look upon history as a bare record of dynastic changes and palace-events, and as almost every historian makes it his particular object to produce a compendium that should render preceding works superfluous, we often find that voluminous native histories contain but little of what is really new. In some cases, again, the works were written for the purpose of exhibiting an ornate style and lexicographical research, and the authors were naturally disposed to leave out what at their age might have appeared trivial, but what at the present time would be of no little interest. Compared with the mediæval writers of Europe, the Muhammadan historians of India occupy, in point of interest, an inferior position. The one had to deal with the chronicles of huge empires and numerous races; the other described the fortunes of small territories and insignificant peoples. The time of Indian historians is, therefore, fully occupied with recording changes in the *personnel* of the government, and rarely do they find leisure to satisfy our curiosity by entering upon what is local or civil. Their histories are more or less complete chronological tables. There is little of judging of motives, no leading ideas, no great object in view; the individual opinions of the writer scarcely ever come to the surface. Of the minute information which we glean from the light and charming historical sketches in even the earliest works of our French neighbours, there is no trace. We feel, indeed, that, besides kings and grandees, there exists a people; but its distance from our stand-point is so great, that, like the fixed stars, it seems to exhibit no sign of progress.

How bare the records are which we now possess, may be seen from several facts. Though there is no period for which we are entirely destitute of historical sources, we are still in doubt regarding the exact extent of the Delhi empire at different times; and the fixing of the frontiers of smaller kingdoms, such as Jaunpur, Málwah, Gujrát, and those of the Dakhin, has not yet been attempted by historians. A collection of maps, showing the size of the empire and the several minor kingdoms at various periods,

is a great desideratum, but the geographical details would necessitate a good deal of patient research. Of the duties and even the titles of the officers of the emperors and kings, we have not always distinct notions, and we know next to nothing of the armies, at least of those of the earlier kings. Matters belonging to the government of towns—a subject regarding which the European historians of the middle ages have so much to say—or to domestic life and manners, are scarcely ever mentioned. Unfortunately, the Muhammadans are no sculptors; with them, as with the Jews of old, the making of likenesses is an abomination. Muhammadan literature, besides, knows nothing of the drama, and thus we are deprived of the mines which have yielded such rich contributions to our knowledge of classical antiquity. A hand-book of antiquities, such as we are accustomed to lay before our students in schools and colleges at home, could not possibly be compiled, at least to the same extent, for Muhammadan India. Our remote knowledge of ancient Egyptian life shows the value of art as a source of history. The absence of historical works in Hindu literature has often been the subject of remark; but as sculpture and the drama exist, the Sanskrit antiquarian has means of entering into the daily life and occupations of generations long past, which the Muhammadan philologist never has, though his enquiries embrace a period much nearer to our own age. The latter feels the absence of art, as much as the former does the want of authenticated history.

The great defect, then, of our early Indian historians lies in their silence on subjects connected with the condition of the people, and chiefly the Hindus, during the first centuries of the Muhammadan period. With the fall of Delhi, the Gangetic provinces lay at the feet of the Muhammadan invader. The strength of the Rajputs had kept for two centuries the rising enthusiasm of Islam within the boundaries of the Panjab. Though ultimately defeated, the Hindus were far from being totally crushed, and substituting passive resistance for open force, they taught their opponents for the first time in history to temper fury with moderation. In Persia the Quran 'extinguished the flame of the fire-temples'; but India never became a thorough Muhammadan country. The invaders were few, and the country was too large and too populous. The waves of immigration from Túrán were few and far between, and deposited on Indian soil adventurers, warriors, and learned men, rather than artizans and colonists. Hence the Muhammadans depended on the Hindus for labour of every kind, from architecture down to agriculture and the supply of servants. Many branches they had to learn from the Hindus, as, for example, the cultivation of indigenous produce, irrigation, coinage, medicine, the building of houses and weaving

of stuffs suitable to the climate, the management of elephants, and so forth. The collection of the revenue even had to be carried on by the conquered race, and the estates taken possession of by Muhammadans had to be managed by Hindu vakils. In course of time the rulers had to depend on the Hindus for recruiting their armies. The 375,000 troopers of Alá-ud-dín could never have been exclusively levied from Muhammadans. The conversions, though numerous, were much less thorough than those which the Muhammadans had effected in Syria and Persia; and so late as the reigns of Jahángír and Sháhjahán we hear of Muhammadan districts, the inhabitants of which at the time of Fírúz Sháh had been converted, and whose descendants, nevertheless, continued to observe Hindu rites, Suttee included. The *jazyah*, or poll-tax on infidels, was never collected for any number of years in succession, or over any large extent of territory. Nearly every powerful king had to renew by an edict the practice of collecting the hateful tax, which so much pleased the vanity of the Moslems. The wealth of the Hindus, indeed, prompted their rulers cruelly to oppress them, and to plunder them on suitable occasions without mercy or remorse; but the dire consequence of the systematic robberies and insults inflicted by Alá-ud-dín and Muhammad Tughluq were effectual warnings for subsequent emperors.

But though the Hindus could not be dispensed with, they were as conquered subjects little thought of, and on the score of religion actually despised. They could not, therefore, attain to political eminence. Before the reign of Akbar, Hindus were not appointed to posts of any responsibility. Even the number of converts that rose to dignity, was small. In the minor States which seceded on the first breaking up of the Delhi Empire with the decline of the house of the Tughluqs, we hear occasionally, as in Málwah and Jaunpúr, of Rajas rising to importance and filling high offices, but these are isolated examples. In Bengal the line of Muhammadan kings was for a time interrupted, and the *ráj* returned to the Hindus, but the successor of the first Raja of Bengal became a convert to Islam. The first example of a Hindu being appointed to command the armies of Delhi, is Hemu.

It was, no doubt, chiefly for religious reasons that the Hindus were not admitted to the higher offices of the government. The antipathy arising from difference of colour did not exist. But it would be wrong to ascribe the ineligibility of the Hindus entirely to religious differences. There was another difference which rendered them unfit for holding high posts. Both Hindus and Muhammadans spoke the same vernacular, *viz.*, Hindi, or as it was then called, Hindawí. If we may trust the statement of Khusrau, the greatest Persian poet that Hindustan has produced, the

Muhammadans were even proud of that vernacular.* But the great obstacle lay in the fact that a knowledge of Persian, the polite language of the Court, was absolutely necessary for the discharge of political duties, and inasmuch as the Hindus did not learn it, they furnished their rulers with an additional reason for withholding from them office and emoluments.

It is interesting to trace from a few facts, incidentally mentioned by historians, the manner in which the subject race came to recognize and remove the cause of their disqualification. That the conquest should have produced in the Hindus intense hatred and a resolve not to mix with the foreigners, but to watch more zealously than before over that which was national, may be assumed as self-evident. To learn the language of the rulers must have been looked upon as pollution, or equivalent to loss of caste and religion; and when the Muhammadaus became Indian in language, the Hindus may then have looked upon the study of Arabic and Persian as useless. Besides, a purely Hindu education had in the eyes of the rulers a certain market value. As stated above, the collection of the revenue and the management of estates were almost exclusively in the hands of the Hindus, and hence all accounts, whether private or public, were kept in Hindi, unlike the official correspondence of the Court which was carried on in Persian. The fact that the whole revenue department, from the very beginning of the Muhammadan rule, was monopolized by Hindus, though it is not especially mentioned by historians, is yet well authenticated. The several *dastúr-ul-amals*, or 'Guides' for settlement officers, which we possess from the Mughal times (we are not aware of the existence of any such works written prior to the reign of Akbar), give due prominence to this curious fact. They are unanimous in affirming that, from the earliest times up to the middle of Akbar's reign, all Government accounts were kept in Hindi, or, generally speaking, in the local vernaculars. Next to religious antipathy, the prospect of obtaining employment in the revenue department, without making any further exertions, prevented the Hindus from devoting themselves to the study of Persian and Arabic. But, after the lapse of more than two centuries from the fall of Delhi, a change took place; the Hindus no longer objected to Muhammadan education, and commenced the study of Persian. Native historians say nothing regarding the precise time that this intellectual revolution began. Like every great change, it must have been gradual, and, therefore, at the time imperceptible. But one fact

* Vide Prof. Dowson, *Elliot's Historians*, vol. iii, p. 556. Muhammadans early composed poems in Hindawí. About 1370, Mauláná

Dáúd wrote a poem, the title of which was *Chandában*, in honour of Joná Shah Khán Jahán. *Badáoní*, i. 250.

is certain. About 1500 A.D., during the reign of Sultan Sikandar, son of Bahlul Lodi, we hear, for the first time, of works composed by Hindus in the Persian language. In the histories of Persian literature mention is especially made of a Hindu who wrote under the assumed name of *Barhaman* (Brahman), evidently with reference to his caste. A few of his verses have been preserved, and historians also state* that, though an infidel, he delivered lectures on Muhammadan sciences, and taught the text-books usually read in Madrasahs. Persian education seems to have rapidly spread in the 16th century, even among the higher classes of Hindus. In the beginning of Akbar's reign we find a Persian poet among the Rájás of Sámbar. Manohar, son of Rája Lonkaran, is mentioned in the works on Persian literature as a clever writer, and the poems of his which we possess show a surprising acquaintance with Persian thought. He wrote under the name of *Tosaní*, which we might perhaps translate by 'Pegasus';† and from his knowledge of Muhammadan literature went at Court under the name of Muhammad Manohar, or Mírzá Manohar, though he was no convert. Badáoni facetiously says of him that, born as he was in the salt region of the Sambhar lake, his works partook of the *sal et lepos* of his native soil.

These examples might, however, be looked upon as isolated instances. But there is another fact which clearly proves the spread of Persian education among Hindus in the 16th century. When Todar Mall was appointed minister of finance, he gave an order that all revenue accounts should henceforth be kept in Persian. This change is also recorded in every *dastúr-ul-amal*; and the mere fact that the order was given and immediately carried out, shows that the change was not productive of any serious inconvenience to the Hindu revenue officers. Coming from a staunch Hindu like Todar Mall (Akbar and Abulfazl thought him offensively bigoted), the order takes us at first by surprise. But though Todar Mall could not perhaps foresee to what results his order would lead, there is no doubt that he had the welfare of his co-religionists at heart. He knew that, notwithstanding the generous policy inaugurated by his imperial master of opening to Hindus the highest posts of the government, his countrymen would not be able successfully to compete with Muhammadans, unless they received the same intellectual training. His order forced the Hindus, if they wished to continue to monopolize, as they had hitherto done, the revenue department, to study Persian and acquire conversational powers in the language of the Court, just as the introduction of English into our

* Badáoní, i., p. 313.

† *Tosan*, Persian, a fiery horse.

courts and offices produced, irrespective of the intrinsic value of Western thought, a marked zeal for English education.

The Muhammadans were not slow to apprehend the danger which threatened the privilege which they had so long enjoyed of being in exclusive possession of the highest offices; and after the selection of Todar Mall for the post of Vakíl, or Díwán, of the empire, they sent a deputation to Akbar to remonstrate with him, and get a Muhammadan appointed in his place. Akbar, characteristically enough, asked the deputies who managed their zemindaris while they were on duty at Court. "Our Hindu Vakíls," they said. "Very well," replied the emperor, "allow me to appoint a Hindu to manage my lands." Similarly, when Mán Singh was nominated to take the command of the expedition against Ráná Partáb, or Ráná Kíká as he is generally called in histories—the first instance, after Hemu, of a Hindu leading the armies of Delhi—the Muhammadan courtiers expressed their dissatisfaction, and some refused to go because a Hindu was in command.

The Hindus from the 16th century took so zealously to Persian education that, before another century had elapsed, they had fully come up to the Muhammadans in point of literary acquirements. The official correspondence of the Government, the *daftar* and the *Munshí-khánah* were soon in the hands of the Hindus, and a Muhammadan historian* even confesses that on the death of Sa'd-ullah, the distinguished vizier of Shahjahan, his duties were discharged by Rái Ragunath and Chander Bhán, because they stood unrivalled in their skill of letter-writing and power of composition. One-half of the Persian literature of the 18th century is due to Hindus. Their *diwáns* (poetry) are as numerous as their *inshás* (model letters); their Persian grammars and commentaries are most excellent, and they have composed the most exhaustive dictionaries and the best critical works on the Persian language.

The influence of Persian education on the Hindus soon showed itself in the language of the people. A new dialect formed itself—the language which we now-a-days call *Urdu*, or *Hindustani*. The share of the Hindus in the formation and perfection of this new dialect is, we believe, greater than historians and scholars are generally willing to admit. The origin of Urdu and the time at which it arose (Shahjahan's reign), will appear in a new light when viewed in connection with the progress of the Hindus in the study of the Persian language; the and question which has occasionally been put 'Why did not Urdu form itself before?' seems to us completely answered. It arose when the

* Khafi Khan.

Hindus took to Persian education ; if they had not been an apt medium for receiving and spreading the new dialect, Urdu would as little have formed itself during the reign of Shahjahan, as under the rule of the Pathans. From analogy we may conclude that the continuance of Urdu as a spoken and written language will mainly depend upon the continuance of Persian studies in this country. The generation of Persian-speaking Hindus has, even in Bengal, not yet died out.

It would be of interest, if we possessed complete rolls of Government officers for the reigns of several Mughal emperors, to compare the number of Hindus and Muhammadans. We only possess lists of grandees and nobles for two reigns, those of Akbar and Shahjahan ; and though the proportion of the officials taken from the two races might have been very different in the lower ranks of the service, the numerical strength and the progress of influence of the Hindus are sufficiently marked in the lists of nobles. We must premise that the higher officers of the Government were divided into 'commands' or *mansabs*. The highest rank was a *mansab* of 5000 troopers, i.e., a commander of 5000 was supposed to maintain from the revenue of the lands made over to him a contingent of 5000 troopers ; but the full number was never kept up, and under Shahjahan the rule was that the contingent should not exceed one-fourth of the number indicated by the title. The next *mansabs* were commands of 4000, 3500, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, 1000, 900, &c., the lowest that entitled an officer to the rank of *amir*, or noble, being, during the reign of Akbar, a *mansab* of 200, and during the reign of Shahjahan one of 500. The *mansabs* of the imperial princes were all above 5000, and went as high as 30,000. Now, from the lists in the *Ain*, we see that about 1590 A.D. there were—

among 252 Commanders of <i>mansabs</i> from			
5000 to 500	...	...	31 Hindus
„ 163 Commanders of ditto from			
500 to 200	...	...	26 „

Fifty years later, during the reign of Shahjahan, in 1640 A.D., we see from the lists in the *Padishahnamah* there were—

among 12 Commanders of <i>mansabs</i> above 5000...	no Hindus,
„ 609 Commanders of ditto from 5000	
to 500	... 110 „*

or more than three-and-a-half times the number employed under Akbar. For the reigns of Jahangir and Aurangzeb we possess no correct tables. But, though the Hindu officers increased in number, they lost slightly in rank. They had served Akbar most faithfully. In none of the numerous rebellions of chiefs, as those of

* The names of Commanders below 500 are not given.

Abdullah Khan Uzbek, Khan Zaman and the Mirzas, did a single Hindu participate, and their faithfulness shone conspicuously at the outbreak of the great Bengal military revolt at the beginning of 1579. Man Singh, after the second conquest of Orissa, was raised to a *mansab* of 7000, a rank which no Muhammadan before had attained. A Hindu was thus the first at Court. Under Jahangir, the highest offices were occupied by the relations of Nur Jahan; and under Shahjahan we find one Musalman holding a command of 9000; six, commands of 7000; and five, commands of 6000; whilst Rajas Jaswant Singh, Jai Singh, and Rana Jagat Singh, held only commands of 5000, being the 17th, 19th, and 24th, respectively, in rank among Shahjahan's officers. Under Aurangzeb, the Hindu officers had become so numerous that he thought it high time to persecute them. He discouraged them on every possible occasion, and appointed Muhammadaus in their stead. His religious zeal rendered him so blind that, in the 22nd year of his reign, he revived the *jazyah* which Akbar had abolished, and deprived Hindus of land and Rajas of whole *pergunahs* in commutation of the hated tax; and the crescentades which he commenced against Hindu temples, his forcible conversions, the removal of Hindu wards to Court, &c., contributed in no small degree to the downfall of the empire.

The matrimonial alliances entered into by the Mughal Court with Hindu families increased the influence of the Hindus. Mixed marriages were, on the whole, confined to the Court; but we should err, if we were to think that the old kings of Delhi and their courtiers only married Muhammadan girls. We know, for example, that Náilah, the mother of Firuz Shah, was the daughter of Raja Mall Bhatti. But whilst such marriages in former times were the result of forcible abductions, we find from the time of Akbar one new feature, *viz.*, that some Hindu Rajas were *anxious* to conclude matrimonial alliances with the Court. Some Rajput families, however, objected, and Muhammadan historians tell us that only Kachhwáha and Ráthor princesses ever entered the imperial harem. But how numerous intermarriages were, may be seen from the fact that Jahángir, Khusrau, Shahjahan, Bahadur Shah, Kambakhsh, Azimushshan, Alamgír II, had all Hindu mothers. These frequent inter-marriages are the more remarkable as they were all one-sided. It has been said that no Rajput would have accepted in return a Muhammadan princess, and the intimate connection, in the eyes of Hindus, of the final salvation of the soul with the purity of race, renders this statement very probable. But no Mughal emperor would have dreamed of marrying his daughter to a Hindu. There is a curious passage in connection with this subject in the Memoirs of Jahangir. On one of his journeys to Kashmír, he came across several Muhammadan communities near Rájor and Bhimbar, who

about 250 years before had forcibly been converted to Islam by Fírúz Sháh. They practised female infanticide, buried women alive with their dead husbands, and married the daughters of their Hindu neighbours. But the emperor was shocked to hear that they also betrothed their own girls to Hindus, and gave the order that this practice was to cease at once upon pain of death. "Marrying a Hindu girl" he says, "is not so bad; but to give one's daughter to a Hindu! Lord, protect us against the machinations of the evil one!" Under later emperors, the Hindu princesses who entered the harem, were generally converted; but Akbar was too fond of Hinduism, and Jahangir too indifferent towards Islam, to interfere with the religion of his Hindu wives. But something jarred on Jahangir's feelings as son, when in his Memoirs he chronicles the death of his Hindu mother. As a Muhammadan, he now reflected upon what had perhaps never occurred to him before, that she would enter everlasting damnation. This would have been a disgrace to him, especially as emperor; hence he naïvely expresses a hope that God will consider her case as a special one, and receive her into Paradise.

We now proceed to give a few biographical notes on the principal Rajas who served at the Mughal Court. In making selections, the writer has not followed any particular principle, though the preference has been given to such personages as are often mentioned in histories. The biographical notes themselves have all been taken from Muhammadan historians, and chiefly from a work entitled *Maásir-ul-Umará*, or 'Deeds of the Amirs.' The work is as rare as it is valuable, and if the following notes are not of sufficient interest for the general reader, they are at least for the greater part new.

1.—RAJA BIR BAL.

His name was either Mahesh Das, or Brahman Das—the histories differ. He was a Brahman by caste, and appears to have been a native of Bandelkand. Soon after Akbar's accession in 1556, he came as a Bhat, or minstrel, from Kálpí to Court, where his *bon mots*, his musical skill and poetical talent, soon made him the general favourite. His Hindi verses, many of which are still current among the people of India, were so much liked that Akbar conferred on him the title of *Kab Rái*, or poet-laureate, and appointed him some time afterwards to a *mansab*.

In 1573, he was raised to the rank of Rája, and received at the same time the name of Bír Bal, or Bír Bar, by which he is best known. At that time Jai Chand, Rája of Nagarkot, or Kángrah, was at Court, and having displeased the Emperor, he was imprisoned. His territory was confiscated and given to Bír Bal as *jágír*. The historian Badaoni states that the only object of these

harsh proceedings was to provide Bir Bal with a grant of land. But Jai Chand's son, who was in Kangrah, determined to resist the Emperor, and Akbar had to order the Governor of the Panjab, Husain Qulí Khán, to lay siege to Kangrah. The famous Bhawan temple outside the fort was taken. The siege was progressing, and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that the Mírzás under Ibrahim Husain Mirza had invaded the Panjab. The Imperialists, therefore, had to raise the siege and content themselves with a heavy indemnity. Bir Bal, of course, could not enter upon his *jágír*, but received soon after a grant of land near Kálinjar, and was raised to the rank of commander of one thousand. He continued, however, to stay at Court, or accompanied the Emperor on his expeditions, chiefly those to Gujrat. On many occasions he was selected for missions. Thus he, together with Raja Lonkaran, who has been mentioned above, concluded the marriage contract between the Rai of Dongarपुर and Akbar.

He is said to have been principally instrumental in effecting Akbar's apostacy from Islam. He impressed upon him the importance of sun-worship; for "the ripening of the grain in the fields, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men depended upon the sun. People should, therefore, adore the great luminary, and turn in prayer towards the east where he rises."

In 1586, an expedition was sent against the Yúsufzais, and when Zain Khan, the commander, required immediate reinforcements, Akbar ordered Abulfazl and Bir Bal to cast lots for the command of the auxiliaries to be sent to Kábul. To the Emperor's sorrow, the lot fell on Bir Bal. Accompanied by Hakím Abul-Fath, a distinguished officer at Court, he departed for Pasháwar, and joined Zain Khan in Sawád (Swat). Neither he nor Abul Fath agreed with Zain Khan, and refused to accept his wise proposal to withdraw by a certain route. Zain Khan paid no attention to their insubordination, and apprehending disaster, joined them on their return. When the Afghans saw the Imperialists retreating, they attacked them from all sides, showering from the heights arrows and stones on the army. The soldiers lost all courage, the horses ran into the train of elephants, and Zain Khán's bravery could not stop the rout. In the greatest disorder did the Imperialists reach the next station, temporarily safe from danger because the enemies were engaged in plunder. But at night the rumour spread that the Afghans had come up to the camp; the soldiers dispersed, and losing their way, several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the mountaineers, where they were cut off to a man. Bir Bal was among the slain. Hakím Abulfath and Zain Khán reached with difficulty the Fort of Attock. The total loss of the Imperialists is stated to have been 8,000 men and 500 officers and nobles.

None among all the slain was more sincerely regretted by Akbar than Raja Bir Bal. His grief was intensified by the circumstance that not even the body had been recovered, so that it might have been buried. He consoled himself, however, with the hope that the purifying rays of the sun would have shone upon the corpse and that his favourite was now free from all earthly fetters. According to Badáoni, the Hindus at Court, seeing the effect which Bar Bal's death had caused in Akbar's demeanour, fabricated a story that he had been seen in the hills of Kangrah, walking about with Jogis and Sanyásis, and the emperor believed the rumour, thinking that Bir Bal was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat. A man was therefore sent to Kangrah to inquire into the truth of the rumour, but nobody there had seen Bir Bal. Some time after, another report was brought to Court that Bir Bal had been seen at Kálinjar, where his *jágir* was situated. The Collector of the district stated that a barber had recognized him by certain marks which the man had distinctly seen when one day engaged by Bir Bal to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, Bir Bal had concealed himself. Akbar ordered the barber to be sent to Court, and the Collector of Kálinjar seized upon a poor innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment, giving out that he was Bir Bal. The Collector could, of course, send no barber to Court, but he killed the traveller to avoid detection, and reported that there was no doubt about the identity, but that Bir Bal had since died. Akbar went actually through a second mourning, but ordered the Collector and several others to appear before him. On arrival, they were for some time tortured as a punishment for the delay that had occurred in the despatch of the report, and the Collector was, moreover, heavily mulcted.

Bir Bal had a son of the name of Lála. He possessed neither the qualities of his father nor the favour of the emperor. Expecting rapid promotion, he lived the life of a spendthrift; but he was disappointed in his hopes, and having squandered away his property, he renounced Court life, turned *faqír*, and was no more heard of.

The house which, according to the tradition, Bir Bal inhabited at Fathpúr Sikrí, may still be seen.

2.—THE KACHHWAHAS OF AMBER (Jaipur).

The Kachhwáhas of Amber trace their origin to Dhola Rai, who in 967 A.D., is said to have founded the State of Amber, which is still held by his descendants, the present Maharaja of Jaipur being the thirty-fourth from the Rai.

The Kachhwáhas are a Rajput clan of great antiquity and renown. They are divided into two powerful branches called *Rájáwat*

and *Shaikháwat*. To the former belong Bihári Mall, Man Singh, Jai Singh I., Sawái Jai Singh, founder of Jaipur and author of the astronomical tables which go by the name of *Zij-i-Muhammadsháhí*, and the present Maharaja. The latter branch, which now covers a large surface of the Jaipur territory, was founded by Shaikhjí. It is said that one of the ancestors of this branch had no male issue. A Muhammadan Shaikh, however, had pity on him and prayed for him till God gave him a son. From motives of gratitude, the boy was called *Shaikh* or *Shaikhjí*. Hence the name of *Shaikháwat*, by which his descendants are designated. Raja Lonkaran, Mirza Manohar, Rai Sal Darbari, &c., belong to this branch.

The seventeenth descendant from Dhola Rai was Prithiraj, who, according to Abulfazl, had 18 sons. Muhammadan historians mention five of them—Púran Mall (the eldest); Bihári Mall; Askaran; Rúpsí Bairágí;* and Jagmall (the youngest). Púran Mall was killed in a fight with Mirza Hindal, brother of the Emperor Humayun. A son of his, Soja or Socha, is mentioned.

Púran Mall was succeeded by his brother Bihári Mall, also called Bihará Mall. He was the first Rajput that paid his respects at Akbar's Court. After Humayun's final defeat by Sher Shah, the imperial officers had to surrender the forts of the districts, and Majnún Khán, one of Humayun's officers, was besieged in Nárnaul by Haji Khán, who was a distinguished commander in Sher Sháh's service. Majnun happened to be a friend of Bihári Mall, and, through his intercession, the fort of Nárnaul was peacefully handed over without further loss to the imperialists. After Akbar's accession, Majnun brought Bihári Mall's services to the notice of the Emperor, and the Raja was invited to come to court, where he was presented before the end of the first year of Akbar's reign. An incident occurred at the first interview which made some impression on the youthful Emperor. Akbar sat on a *mast* elephant, when suddenly the animal got restive and ran furiously about, beyond the control of the driver. The people present at the assembly gave way in great precipitation; only Bihári Mall's Rajputs, to the admiration of Akbar, stood firm.

In the sixth year, Akbar made a pilgrimage to Ajmír to the tomb of the great Muhammadan saint Mu'in-i-Chishtí, whom the Mughal Emperors of Delhi looked on as the patron of their family. When entering the Amber territory, he heard to his regret that Soja, son of Púran Mall, had instigated the imperial Governor of Malwah to make war on Bihári Mall, and that the latter had occupied and fortified the passes of his district. The

* Some historians call him the son of Bihari Mall's brother.

presence of the Emperor stopped all hostilities, and Bihári Mall, with his whole family, paid his respects at Sanganir, near Amber, and was most honourably received. His request to enter into Akbar's service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by a matrimonial alliance was granted. On his return from Ajmir, Akbar received Bihári Mall's daughter at Sambhar, and accompanied by the Raja himself, his son Bhagwan Das, and Kunwar Man Singh, returned to Agra, where Bihári Mall was made a commander of five thousand, the highest dignity of the Court.

Not long after, Bihári Mall died at Agra. Historians mention four of his sons—Bhagwan Das ; Bhopat ; Jagnath ; and Silhadí.

Bihári Mall was succeeded, both in the *raj* and in his rank as commander of five thousand, by his eldest son, Bhagwan Das. He saved Akbar's life in the Gujrátí wars with the Mirzas, in which he also lost his brother Bhopat. For a long time he was Governor of the Punjab.

Bhagwan Das died in the end of 1589 at Láhor. It is said that on returning from Todar Mall's funeral, he had an attack of strangury, to which he succumbed. At his death he was a commander of 5000, and had the title of *Amír-ul-Umará*. The Jámi Masjid of Láhor was built by him. During his lifetime he occasionally suffered from fits of madness. Thus, when appointed Governor of Zábulistán, he inflicted a dangerous wound on himself with a dagger. His daughter also, who was married to to Prince Salím (Jahángír), is said by her husband to have shown signs of insanity. A few years before Akbar's death, she destroyed herself by swallowing opium from grief and melancholy, as her husband says, at the behaviour of her son Khusrau and her brother Madhu Sing.

Jagnath, Bhagwán's brother, distinguished himself in the war with Ráná Partáb. He slew the renowned champion Rám Dás, son of Jai Mall. During the reign of Jahángír, he reached the dignity of a commander of 3000. Some of his descendants are mentioned, as :—

Ram Chand, son of Jagnath.

Raja Mánrúp, who died in the 4th year of Sháhjahán's reign (1631).

Gopal Singh.

Silhadí, Bihári Mall's fourth son, was under Akbar a commander of 400.

Bhagwan Das was succeeded by his renowned adopted son, Mán Singh. He was born at Amber, and was introduced to Akbar when on his way through Sangánir, as mentioned above. Muhammadan historians do not mention the name of Mán Singh's father ; they only say that Bhagwan was his uncle. Mán

Singh's great deeds are the defeat of Ráná Kíká near Gogundah, the conquest of Orissa, the defeat of the Afgháns at Sherpur Atái (between Sooree and Murshidabad), and the pacification and annexation of Eastern Bengal, and are given pretty correctly in our histories. He served Akbar, as Governor of Kabul, and of Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa, and reached the rank of a commander of 7000. At court, like several of his descendants, he was generally called *Mírzá Rája*, and had, moreover, the title of *Farzand*, or son.

Man Singh died a natural death in the ninth year of Jahángir's reign (1023, A.H., or 1614 A.D.), whilst in the Dakhin. Sixty of his fifteen hundred wives are said to have burned themselves on the funeral pile. Only one of his numerous sons, Bháo Singh, outlived him.

The ground on which the Taj in Agra stands belonged to him. He also built Rajmahall (Akbar-nagar) and Salímnagar, the fort of Sherpur Múrcha (North-Eastern Bengal).

It is not stated in the histories why Bhagwán Dás adopted Man Singh. He had male issue, and three of his sons are mentioned, Madhu Singh, Partáb Singh, and Ukhiraj. The *ráj* was certainly secured to Mán Singh's posterity.*

Madhu Singh, the first son of Bhagwan Das, played no inconsiderable part at court. He served with distinction under Mán Singh in the wars with the Rana, and in Afghanistan, and was promoted to a command of 3000. His son, Satr Sál, or Chatr Sál, served under Jahangir, and was killed, together with his two sons, Bhím Singh and Anand Sing, in the 3rd year of Shahjahán's reign, in the Dakhin. His other sons, Ajab Singh and Ugra Sen, also served under Shahjahan, and held commands of 800.

Partáb Singh, the next son of Bhagwan Das, accompanied Mán Singh to Orissa. During Mán Singh's temporary absence from Bengal in the Dakhin, Partáb and Mahá Singh (Mán Singh's grandson) were attacked and defeated by the Afghans under Osman near Bhadrak, and Orissa and South Western Bengal were temporarily lost. Mán Singh returned, defeated the Afghans at Sherpore Atái, and gave the Afghanse jágirs in Eastern Bengal. Partáb held a command of 400.

* Col. J. C. Brooke in his *Political History of the State of Jeypore* (Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. lxxv, 1868) says (p. 17) that Mán Singh's father was Jagat Singh, youngest brother of Bhagwan Das. Jagat Singh's elder brothers were Súr Singh and Madhu Singh. The same statements are repeated in

his 'Genealogical Tree of the Maharajas of Jaipur' (appendix A), which Col. Brooke evidently obtained in Jaipur itself. But it is noticeable that the genealogies of Bihari Mall, Bhagwan Das, Mán Singh, and Jagat Singh, differ in almost every item from the statements of Muhammadan historians.

Ukhiraj, a third son of Bhagwán Das, is rarely mentioned in the histories. He had three sons, Abhi Ram,* Bají Ram, and Shiám Rám. According to Jahángír's Memoirs (p. 12), they had for some reason or other a bad name at court. The Emperor had pardoned them on several occasions, when, three months after his accession, it was brought to his notice that they contemplated a flight to the Rana, the hereditary enemy of the Delhi empire. He asked whether any courtier would stand security for them, and as none came forward, their grants of land were cancelled, and officers were sent to deprive them of their insignia and any military stores they might have. They opposed the execution of the order, and a sharp fight took place before the very Díwán-i-khás, or state-hall of the emperor. Several people were killed; but the three brothers were at last overpowered and cut down. Jahángír does not state what crimes they had committed, and we may assume that their offences were of a personal character. He had every reason to dislike the Kachhwáhas. It is well known that Mán Singh had wished to secure the succession to Khusrau, and if he had been more active,† he might have carried his plan into effect. The emperor, therefore, classed him among his enemies, and as he was the head of the family, the Kachhwáhas lost the influence which they had under Akbar. Another circumstance offended Jahángír's pride. On his accession he had expressed a wish to marry the daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Man Singh. But the mother of the girl was a princess of the Hara clan, who like the Udaipúris, looked upon intermarriages with Muhammadans as impure, and the emperor was refused. It was only when Raja Bhoj Hárá, her maternal grandfather, in order to evade Jahángír's revenge, had committed suicide, that the girl was brought to the imperial harem. But the formal refusal, upheld as it had been by the Kachhwáhas, was never forgotten, and if we are not mistaken, the marriage with Jagat Singh's daughter closes the list of inter-marriages of Mughals and Kachhwáhas.

Of Man Singh's sons the following are mentioned by Muhammadan historians:—Jagat Singh, who died in 1008 A.H.; Bhao Singh, who died in 1030; Sabal Singh; Arjan Singh; Sakat Singh; and Himmat Singh, who died in 1005. Brooke also gives six, Jagat, Bhim, Urjun, Sukhat, Kallián, and Himmat Singh.

Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign, against Raja Bású of Pathán and Dhamerí (Núrpúr in North-Eastern

* Brooke mentions a brother of Mán Singh of the name of Abhey Raj. There seems to be some confusion in the names of Ukhiraj and Abhi Ram.

† He waited too long for Akbar's

death. The other party, whose leader was the grand Shaikh Faríd of Bukhárá, proclaimed Jahángír emperor several hours before Akbar had closed his eyes.

Panjab). Two years later, he was ordered to take his father's place in Bengal. Whilst on the way to join his appointment, he died at Agra from excessive drinking.

Bhao Singh was at the death of Akbar (1605 or 1014 A.H.) a commander of 1000. On the accession of Jahángír, he was promoted to a *mansab* of 1500, and three years later to a command of 2000. According to Rajput custom, Mahá Singh, son of Jagat Singh, should have succeeded Mán Singh; but as Jahángír was fond of Bhao Singh, he called him to Court on Mán Singh's death, gave him the title *Mírzá Rája* and a command of 4000, and sent him back to Amber. A year later he was made a commander of 5000, and was ordered to take a part in the Dakhin invasion. Like his brother, Jagat Singh, he died from excessive drinking (A.H. 1030).

Arjan Singh and Subal Singh are mentioned in the *Aín* as commanders of 500. Sakat Sing held a *mansab* of 400. They died before their father.

Himmat Singh distinguished himself under his father in the wars with the Afghans.

Mahá Singh, son of Jagat Singh, served with Partab Singh in Orissa, and was present at the disastrous battle of Bhadrak. He was rapidly promoted, and held in 1605 a command of 2000. During the reign of Jahángír, he served in Bangash (Kábul), and against Rája Bikramájít of Bándhú (Bandelkánd). On Man Singh's death in 1023, he should have succeeded, but Jahángír appointed Bháo Singh to Amber, and gave Mahá Singh by way of compensation the district of Bándhú, and soon after the title of Rája. Mahá Singh died in 1026 at Balapur in Berar, like his father, from excessive drinking.

He was succeeded by Jai Singh—next to Mán Singh, the most illustrious of the Kachhwáhas. Though at the death of his father only twelve years old, Jahángír bestowed upon him a command of 1000, and attached him to the corps of Prince Parwíz in the Dakhin. On Shahjahan's accession he was made a commander of 4000. He suppressed, together with Qásim Khan Juwainí, disturbances in Mahában (Sirkar Agra), and accompanied the Khan Khanan to Kabul, which was besieged by Nazar Muhammad Khan, king of Balkh. In the second and third years of Shahjahan's reign, he pursued, under Abul Hasan Turbatí and Sháistah Khán, the rebellious Khan Jahán Lodí. In the sixth year, he returned to Court, where once, at an elephant-fight, he saved the life of the young Aurangzeb. An elephant charged the prince, when Jai Singh attacked the animal with a spear, and allowed Aurangzeb time to escape. He then served under Prince Shujá in the Dakhin, and was made, in the eighth year, a commander of 3000. After an expedition, in the following year, against Sháhá Bhonsla, he received, in the 12th year, the title of *Mírza Rája*. Three

years later, he distinguished himself in the siege of Mau against Jagat Singh, son of Raja Basu of Dhameri, and being the first to plant his standard on the fort, he was made military commander of the district. After a short time he returned to Court, and was ordered to join Dará Shikoh in the expedition against Kandahár. In the 17th year, he was made Subahdar of the Dakhin and remained in office for about three years. He then accompanied Aurangzeb to Balkh, where his Rajputs rendered distinguished service, and two years after, to Kandahar. But the expeditions failed. Assisted by his son, Kírat Singh, he suppressed in the 23rd year, disturbances in Pahári, Kámah, and Koh Mujáhid.* Jai Singh's contingent consisted of 4000 horse, and 6000 matchlock-men. The tribe of the Mews, against whom the war was directed, were overpowered; their jungles were cut down, and a number of men and women were killed or led into captivity. With a view to insure order in future, Jai Singh induced some of his subjects to settle in the ravaged districts. He also received for his services the Parganah of Chál Kalánah (Sirkar Alwar), which yielded a revenue of nearly two lakhs of rupees. In the 25th year, he moved again with Aurangzeb to Kandahár, and continued to serve there under Dárá Shikoh, but the town was not taken. Jai Singh then returned for a short time to Amber. In the 28th year he operated with Sa'dullah against Chitor.

When Shahjahan fell ill,† and his three sons, Dara Shikoh, Shujá and Aurangzeb, contended for the throne, the histories inform us that the fate of the empire was considerably influenced by the attitude which Jai Singh took. Dara, the heir-presumptive, attached him to his party, and appointed him *atálík* (chargé d'affaires) to his son Sulaiman Shikoh. The discomfiture of Shujá brought Jai Singh a commandership of 7000. But after the battle of Samogar, in which Aurangzeb defeated Dárá and Jaswant Singh, Jai Singh joined the party of the victor. The service which he rendered before, and in, the final battle of Deorá, near Ajmir, contributed in a great measure to Aurangzeb's success. In the beginning of 1075, Jai Singh was ordered to operate against Síwá. He besieged and took Púrandhar, and obliged Síwá to cede twenty-three forts in the district of Aurangabad.‡ Immediately after this conquest, Jai Singh invaded Bījápúr, because Adilshah had assisted Síwá.

Soon after, Jai Singh died at Burhanpur (28th Muharram, 1078, or 10th July, 1667). Muhammadan historians§ state

* Sirkar Sahár (Bhartpur Territory). been ashamed.

† Muhammadan historians say that Sháhjahán suffered and died from strangury (*habs i baul*). Bernier says it was a disease of which Sháhjahán, old as he was, should have

‡ A quarter of the town of Aurangabad was called after Jai Singh.

§ 'Alamgírnamah, p 1051. *Maásir Alamgiri*, p. 62.

that he died a natural death, and that his son Rám Singh was immediately made Rája. Colonel Brooke (*l.c.*, p. 14) says, though he does not mention his authority, that Jai Singh was killed by his son Kirat Singh, whom Aurangzeb had promised the succession, and that the Emperor had engaged his services, because he thought Jai Singh too powerful a subject. "The feeling of the country, however, was too strong against the parricide, to allow such a succession to be carried out, and Kirat Singh was obliged to content himself with Kámah, now in the Bhurtpore territory, and which his descendants enjoy to this day; but the parricidal act of their ancestor has ever excluded them from any chance of succeeding to the Jeypore throne." Kirat Singh certainly was at Burhanpore when Jai Singh died. He had in nearly every war served under his father, as, for instance, in the Mew disturbances, after which he received Kámah, Pahárá, and Koh-Mujáhid, and was appointed Faujdar of Mewát. Shahjahan, two years before being deposed, had made him a commander of 1000, and after the wars with Síwá, Aurangzeb gave him a command of 2500. After the death of his father, he was made a commander of 3000, a promotion which does not look like a reward for the great crime imputed to him. Kirat continued to serve in the Dakhin, and died in the beginning of 1084 (1673 A.D.)

Jai Singh was succeeded by his first-born son, Ram Singh. He had risen under Sháhjahán to the rank of commander of 3000. In the battle of Samogar he was with Dara Shikoh, but joined soon afterwards, like his father, the party of Aurangzeb. He served under Muhammad Sultán, in the pursuit of Shujá, and took a part in the capture of Sulaiman Shikoh at Srinagar. Subsequently he served under his father against Síwá, and when the Bhonsla and his son Sámbar presented themselves at Court, Aurangzeb warned Rám Singh to have a sharp eye on them, and not to let them escape. But they fled (beginning of 1077), and Rám Singh fell into temporary disgrace, and lost his rank. The fact that Jai Singh died soon afterwards may be construed into a suspicion against Kirat Singh. But Rám Singh was immediately restored, received the title of Rája, and a mansab of 4000. In the same year (1078), he was ordered to Gawáhátí (Gowhatty) in Assam, the Thanahdar of which place, Sayyid Firuz Khan, had been murdered by the Assamese. Rám Singh remained in Assam till the middle of 1086 (1675).^{*} He died soon after. His son Kunwar Kishn Singh † died when young, of a wound he had received. He had served for some time in Kabul.

^{*} Rám Singh's long stay in Assam was evidently a punishment.

† Colonel Brooke's sources count Kishn Singh among the *Rajas* of

Jaipur; but, according to the Muhammadan historians, he appears to have died before his father.

Bishn Singh, son of Kunwar Kishn Singh, succeeded his grandfather Ram Singh. He took part in the expeditions against the Ráthors, and was for some time Faujdar of Islamabad (Muttra). He died in 1699, and was succeeded by Bijai Singh, who in 1699 was made *Raja*, and received from Aurangzeb the name of Jai Singh II, whilst his brother was henceforth called Bijai Singh. He served under Asad Khan against the Marhattas, and was appointed to a mansab of 2000.

On the death of Aurangzeb, Jai Singh left the Dakhin, with Muhammad A'zam Shah and took part in the battle of Sarái Jájú, near Dholpúr, between the prince and Bahádur Shah. Jai Singh's brother, Bijai Singh, was with Bahádur. On the day of the battle, Jai Singh joined the victorious party; but Bahádur Shah ever looked upon him as a traitor, and made his brother a commander of 3000. Quarrels arose in consequence between the two brothers, and each tried to get possession of Amber. To prevent open hostilities, Bahádur Shah appointed an imperial officer, Sayyid Husain Khan Bárha, Faujdar of Amber. Jai Singh at first quietly submitted; but during the expedition led by Bahádur Sháh against Kámbakhsh, Jai Singh and Raja Ajít Singh left the imperial army, marched on Amber, and ultimately succeeded in killing the Bárha Sayyid. Though this amounted to open rebellion, Bahádur Shah pardoned Jái Singh at the request of Mun'im Khánkhánáú.

Under Farrukhsiyar, Jai Singh received the title *Dhíráj Raja Jai Singh Sawai*.* But as the Government was in the hands of the Bárha Sayyids, Jai Singh could not expect much favour; and when the emperor had selected him to command the expedition against the Jat Raja Chauráman, the Sayyids† appointed their maternal uncle Sayyid Khan Jahan Barha to the command of a second army, and Jai Singh, in disgust, returned to court, full of hatred towards the Sayyids who had spoiled his laurels. Towards the end of Farrukhsiyar's reign, they even removed him from Court, and Jai Singh gladly availed himself of the opportunity to return to Amber. Later, he joined the party of Nekúsiyar at Agra, but when his cause began to fail, he entered into a reconciliation with the Sayyids.

When the power of the Bárha brothers was broken, Jai Singh paid his respects at the Court of Muhammad Shah, and was well received. He was again sent with an army against Chauráman, and was, in 1145 (1723 A.D.), appointed Governor of Málwah, which office he held till 1148, when he surrendered the province to Báji Rao.

* *Sawai* means one and a quarter. The word was to indicate his high rank, he being in the eyes of the Emperor more than one.

† The two renowned brothers, Hasan Ali Khan Qutb-ul-mulk and Husain Ali Khan.

Jai Singh was a liberal patron of science, and distinguished for his engineering and architectural skill. He was an excellent mathematician, and a distinguished astronomer. In 1728, he built Bijainagar, or, as it is now generally called, Jaipur. The observatories which he erected after his own plans, in his capital, in Delhi, Ujjain, and Benares, have justly handed down his name to posterity. With their aid, he compiled astronomical tables which, in honour of his sovereign, he called *Zīj i Muhammad Sháhí*. The *Maásir* says that he paid particular attention to the orbit of Saturn; though death frustrated his plan of observing and registering a complete revolution of that planet.

Jai Singh was succeeded by his eldest son I'shúr Singh, and soon after by Madhú Singh, Jai Singh's younger son by an Udaipúri princess.

Madhu's son, Prithi Singh, lost a portion of his country to the Marhattas. He was succeeded by his younger brother Partab Singh, whose son, Jagat Singh, is the grandfather of the present Mahárajá of Jaipur, Ram Singh II.

Regarding the collateral branches of the house of Amber, the information given by Muhammadan historians is less detailed.

It was mentioned above, on p. 283, that Rúpsí Bairágí was either the brother, or the son of a brother, of Biharí Mall. He was a commander of 1500, and served with his son Jai Mall, and other Kachhwahas, in the Gujrati wars. This is the Jai Mall, referred to in the story of the heavy armour which Elphinstone relates.* Rúpsí felt offended, because the Emperor ordered Karan, a Ráthor, to put on Jai Mall's armour, and angrily demanded it back; on which Akbar took off his own armour and gave it Karan. Bhagwan Das thought it, however, necessary to ask the Emperor to pardon Rúpsí's rudeness.

Jai Mall distinguished himself in the conquest of Búndi (spring 1577, A.D.) He died suddenly at Chausá on his way to Bengal. It was his wife whom Akbar saved from the funeral pile. She was a daughter of Moth Raja,† and refused to mount the pile. Her own son, Udai Singh, however, forced her to do so, when Akbar arrived just in time to save her life.

Askaran, another brother of Bihári Mall, is frequently mentioned in the histories. He served twice with distinction against Madhukar, the Bundelah Raja of Undcha (Oorcha, near Jhánsí), in Bihar under Todar Mall, and in the Dakhin. For a short time he was also Subahdar of Agra. He died soon after 1589.

His eldest son, Gordhan, was murdered by Karan, son of Soja,

* Elphinstone's *History of India*, fifth ed p. 500, note. Another daughter of his (Jagat Gosáiní) was married to Jahangir, and was the mother of Shahjahan.

† Udai Singh Moth Raja was the son of Rai Maldeo of Jodhpur.

in the middle of 1591. Abulfazl says in the *Akbarnamah* (end of 36th year) that of the 18 sons of Prithiraj ten were by the same mother. When the eldest, Puran Mall, was killed in the fight with Mirza Hindal, Soja was a child, and Ratan Singh, Puran Mall's brother, was raised to the throne.* But "from arrogance and wantonness he tore the veil of the honour of the Rajputs," and a party induced Askaran, his brother, to kill him and usurp the throne. This Askaran did. Karan, Soja's son, with a view to carry out a deep plan of revenge, took service under Askaran, and on a suitable opportunity, killed Gordhan before the very eyes of his father.

Raj Singh, Askaran's second son, succeeded him, and received from Akbar the title of Raja. He served in the Dakhin, was for a time commander of Gwalior, and took part in the siege of Asir. At Akbar's order, he pursued Bir Singh Deo, son of Madbukar, who had murdered Abulfazl, and though he did not succeed in capturing him, he seems to have inflicted a great deal of damage on the Bundelah clan, for which, in 1605, he was made a commander of 4000. In the reign of Jahangir, he served in the Dakhin, where he died in 1615.

Ram Das, son of Raj Singh, received in 1617 the title of Raja, and was a commander of 1500. One of his grandsons, Prasuttam Singh, became, in 1633, a convert to Islam, and received from Shah-jahan the name of *Ibádatmand*.

The youngest son of Prithiraj was Jagmál. He held under Akbar a command of 1000, and served in the Gujrati wars.

His son Kangar, was likewise a commander of 1000. He served in Gujrat, against the Rana, and in the Bengal military revolt. He died shortly before 1592.

Muhammadan historians mention several other Kachhwahas, though the notices are not sufficient to classify them. Thus Uchblá, son of Balbhadra, and three sons of "a brother of Bihari Mall" whose names are Mohan, Súr Dás, and Tiluksi. These four rebelled against Akbar, and were killed in 1580, not far from

* The disturbances consequent on Puran Mall's death ended with the appointment or usurpation, whichever it may have been, of Bihari Mall. All Muhammadan historians agree on this point, that Bihari Mall was Prithiraj's successor. "Tod supposes that Bhim (evidently another son of Prithiraj) succeeded his father, and that Bhim was succeeded by Aiskurrun [Askaran] a parricide. Bhim, however, was not the eldest son of Prithiraj, but the holder

of one of the Kotrees, and his son Aiskurrun, having been adopted to the guddee of Nurwar, the Kotree became extinct. Bahari Mall paid homage to the Muhammadan power, and received from the Emperor Akbar (by some odd misprint, Colonel Brooke's Record has the *European Humayun*) the munsib of 5,000 as Raja of Amber." Brooke's *Political History of the State of Jeypore*, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. LXV, p. 14.

Rantanbhúr, by Dastam Khán, the imperial commander of that fort. Their rebellion is related in the *Akbarnamah* (25th year). The *Aín* also mentions Rám Chand and Bánka, who in 1590 were commanders of 400; another Man Singh, who held a mansab of 300; and Kallá, who held one of 200.

The *Padishahnámah* mentions Rai Tilúkchand, a commander of 1500; Jagram, of 900; Bhojráj, Singrá, and Mathurá Dás, of 700; and Prithi Singh, Kashí Singh, and Ugrasen, three grandsons of the famous Man Singh, who held commands of 500. They were all alive in 1647. It is possible that the family histories of the chiefs of Jaipur give the genealogical details left out by the Muhammadan historians. There is no doubt that some of the above are Shaikh-áwats.

We propose, in a future paper to continue these genealogical notices of Rajas under the Mughal Government, and to collect from the historians such biographical information as bears on the family history of the Shaikhawat Kachhwahas, and the illustrious Rajas of the Rathor clan.

The annexed table shows the genealogy of the Rajawat Kachhwahas of Amber and Jaipur for the Mughal period.

H. BLOCHMANN.

ART. IX.—THE BUDGET.

Supplement to the GAZETTE OF INDIA, March 1871.

SIR Richard Temple's Financial exposition for 1871-72, though not conspicuous for any great originality, nor differing much from previous statements of a similar nature, has nevertheless succeeded in creating an unusual amount of discussion, not only in the Indian press, but also within the charmed precincts of the Legislative Council itself. A seven hours' debate upon the Income Tax Bill, followed by a substantial victory on the part of the Opposition, is certainly a novelty in our legislation, and augurs well for the growing independence of what we may regard as the nucleus of a future Indian Parliament. Of course an attempt was made to strangle this independence in its birth, but we may fairly hope that the days of official despotism are past, and that the extraordinary members of the Council are no longer afraid to oppose or expose measures of the Executive Government which they conscientiously believe to be prejudicial to the interests of those whom they are selected to represent.

We propose, with the permission of our readers, to add a few words to the comments which have been so freely pronounced on the late financial statement. We feel that an apology is needed for drawing attention again to facts and figures which have been before the public so frequently during the past few weeks. It is probable that, before this number of the *Review* is in the hands of its subscribers, many of our remarks may have been anticipated. But it seems to us that a lesson is to be learnt from the very debate to which we have referred; and just as no single member of the Legislative Council was willing to record a silent vote upon so momentous a question, so, we think, no member of the fourth state ought to abstain from throwing the weight of whatever influence it may possess, into the scale of the cause which it believes to be the most wise and expedient.

Sir Richard Temple's present financial statement is mainly remarkable in two points of view—the retention of the income-tax, and the inauguration of the scheme for the decentralization of financial control. The late debate confined itself, for the most part, to the discussion of these measures. There are other points in the Budget, however, which will demand attention in passing.

But before proceeding to criticise any particular measures, we must take exception to the unsatisfactory and self-sufficient tone which characterises the statement throughout. The statement itself is a mere array of figures—an exposition at great length of the facts which are disclosed in the figured tables. In this

light it is of course unexceptionable. But if we attempt to search for any exposition of the causes of financial failure or success, or for the enunciation of any great fiscal principles, we shall search in vain. Instead of explanation, we have an appeal to fortune, or an admission of ignorance; while, as to fiscal principles, if we are to judge from Sir R. Temple's reply to Mr. Bullen Smith, he would seem to be unaware of their very existence. Whenever Sir Richard does condescend to explanation, he either contradicts himself or talks nonsense. Last year he told us he possessed a mass of information in regard to opium cultivation in China; this year he confesses that he knows nothing about it. "I may have my opinion and conjectures, but I really do not know, and I have not heard of any one who does know." In one and the same breath we are told that the existence of a surplus in 1869-70 was no reason for a mitigation of taxation in 1870-71; but that the existence of a surplus in the latter year is a good reason for a mitigation of taxation in 1871-72. In regard to the following passage, we defy any one to say what it means:—

'It is feared that the improvement in customs is partly due to over-importation, which again may be in some respects connected with the abnormal condition of the European markets during this very eventful year. We may regret that the increase of the revenue does not yet indicate a corresponding improvement in trade. But the fact that such large quantities of goods have been taken (though at somewhat low prices), is an index of the prosperous condition of the people at this moment, and affords hope for the future progress of the trade.'

Indian finance has invariably been characterized by its extreme uncertainty. The statement which Sir Richard Temple laid before the Legislative Council on the 9th March, shows no improvement in this respect. From the way in which the subject is treated, moreover, we may almost despair of improvement. For, first, with regard to 1869-70. It will be recollected that our Chancellor of the Exchequer originally budgeted for a small surplus of £52,650. As the year wore on, a large deficiency was anticipated, estimated at one million and three quarters. New and extraordinary measures were taken in the middle of the year "to destroy the deficit, to run it hard, to break its back so to speak." According to Sir Richard's own admission, an improvement was thus effected to the extent of £1,523,765, or one million and a half. Still, in the regular estimates presented in April of last year, a deficit was exhibited amounting to £625,594. Of this estimate the Finance Minister spoke in the following terms:—

'The regular estimate which I now present, ought to be of a better kind, for it is based on eleven months' actuals for nearly all the receipts and for all civil expenditure in India, and ten months for army, marine and public works; leaving only one month, or in some cases

two months, for estimate, which estimate again is based on the actuals of the last months of former years. But even for the last months we have obtained actual data for some important branches on the receipt side especially.'

After this assurance, it is somewhat disheartening to find that this estimate is also wrong to the extent of no less a sum than three quarters of a million. But what is perhaps even more startling, is that, after all this bungling, the Financial Department should take credit to itself that "*the original estimate* has been more than fulfilled!" Wonderful foresight after the event!

The same air of self-complacency pervades Sir Richard Temple's treatment of the regular estimate for the year which has just closed.

'What, he asks, would have been the situation, had the opium increase of £1,074,519 not accrued? Why, the consequence would have been that, apart from the exceptional allotment of £200,000 to the local Governments wherewith to begin the provincial service scheme, and of £40,000 to the Trustees of the Indian Museum, I should have to-day shown a surplus of £162,581, or *almost exactly the sum originally estimated, viz., £163,440.*'

In other words, Sir Richard Temple would have the public believe that, had opium not improved to the extent of a million sterling, the regular estimate would have demonstrated the budget estimate to have been framed with an accuracy and shrewdness that would have been truly remarkable. But what is the actual state of the case? Why, in three items of expenditure alone—loss by exchange, army, and guaranteed interest—there is an increase over the budget estimate of upwards of a million and a quarter, which was totally unforeseen. Had not the revenue also unexpectedly increased to an equal extent, there would have been a deficit again and no surplus at all!

Thus we see that Indian finance is just as uncertain as ever it was, and statements such as those we have exposed, only serve to make the melancholy truth more aggravating still. Tall talk and big words about big figures will never compensate for this blot on our system, or reconcile the Indian public to what, rightly or wrongly, it attributes to incompetency. Even now there is no certainty that the past year may not after all close with a deficit.

Sir Richard Temple, however, estimates a surplus of a million, and this surplus he attributes to an unexpected improvement in the price of opium. It is quite true that opium will in all probability yield over a million in excess of Sir Richard's estimate; but the question is, whether that estimate was not originally over-cautious and unfair to the tax-payers. Sir Richard felt himself that his want of foresight in regard to this item called for explanation, but his apology is a lame one and simply amounts to a confession of

ignorance. The opium estimate for 1870-71 was, with one exception, the lowest that has ever been taken since the introduction of the Budget system, and whatever Sir Richard Temple may declare to the contrary, the press at the time almost unanimously pointed out that it was put at a million less than would actually be realized. In point of fact, the receipts under this head have been no larger during the year which has just closed than they were in the preceding year, and are less than the amount entered in the estimate for 1871-72. The truth would seem to be that, although the cultivation and consumption of opium in China have of course their effects upon the trade, the average price depends upon the action of our own Government to a much greater extent than is generally supposed. The statistics published by the Financial Department, prove beyond a doubt that the price is mainly influenced by a consideration of the supply. Thus, the highest average recorded was in 1861, when the annual supply had been reduced from upwards of 50,000 chests to a minimum of 21,400. The price that year was Rs. 1,871 per chest. The quantity was then increased up to a maximum of 64,100 chests in 1864, the price meanwhile gradually falling to a minimum of Rs. 956 a chest. In 1866 the quantity was reduced by one-third, and only 40,000 chests were sold. The effect was at once evident in a rise in the price to Rs. 1,325. Since then the quantity sold has been kept at a pretty steady figure, and the average prices have not varied more than a couple of hundred rupees per chest. Of course, even this amount of fluctuation, representing as it does a million sterling for 50,000 chests, is a serious item of uncertainty for any financier. But it is no worse than the million and a quarter of unforeseen expenditure which we have pointed out above, and under any circumstances—and this is the point on which we lay stress—it affords no reason for those periodical panics to which our Finance Ministers are now-a-days so subject. Taking one year with another, an average of from Rs. 1,100 to Rs. 1,200 a chest for a consumption of 50,000 chests, may be safely assumed, the deficiency of one year being made good by the excess of another.

We maintain, therefore, that any surplus that may be realized in 1870-71, cannot be fairly attributed to any extraordinary rise in the price of opium; on the contrary, it will be due solely to the income-tax, which forms the only abnormal item of revenue for the year. Any portion of its proceeds, therefore, which was not required to meet the year's expenditure, was so much unnecessary taxation. In other words, the issue between ourselves and Sir Richard Temple would seem to be this. In 1869-70 there was an unusual fall in the price of opium, and the result was a panic—some people said at the time an *unreasonable* panic—among those members of the Government of India who had charge

of the finances. In consequence of this panic, an income-tax of $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the pound was imposed. Meanwhile opium recovers itself; and it appears that a million sterling has been raised in excess of the country's requirements. Sir Richard Temple says, this is a surplus of opium revenue; *we* say, it represents surplus proceeds of the income-tax above the amount which was absolutely required. Whether Sir Richard Temple was justified in thinking it would be required, depends upon the amount of sagacity he showed in framing his opium budget.

One of the most disgraceful blots on our present system of finance lies in those periodical panics to which our financiers are so subject. These panics are not only very undignified for a great Government like that of India to give way to, but they are very expensive. Sir Richard Temple is pleased to designate them by the term *management*, but he will perhaps excuse us for reminding him that there is such a thing as bad management as well as good. Neither does the result of a measure always justify the means by which it is brought about. For take the case of the Public Works Department. Colonel Strachey has furnished us with several expositions on this subject; he has taken credit for the extraordinary reductions that have been made in his Department; but he has never yet favoured us with an approximate estimate of what that short-sighted order of September 1869 has cost the country. Little by little it creeps out, when buildings fall to the ground and Commissions are appointed to enquire into the cause. But where is the complete account? Unroofed barracks falling to pieces under the action of a tropical climate, *matériel* exposed for months and rotting in the sun or rain, establishments with nothing to do but to make out their monthly pay-bills! Is this a state of things creditable to our Government? And all done in the name of economy too! Surely it is very like the position of the man we have all read of who intended to build a tower and was not able to finish it. "And all that behold it, begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build and was not able to finish."

A second case in point is the action of Government in regard to the census. After the manner in which the various protests against the census have been over-ruled by the Government of India, it might have been expected that that Government had, at any rate, counted the cost and was prepared to incur it. To many men it seemed somewhat Quixotic to attempt to take a scientific and simultaneous census of a country in which the first difficulty is to find a sufficient number of intelligent men to fill up the returns; to others it appeared politically dangerous to make the attempt at a time when the country was groaning under a hated income-tax, with local cesses and what not in anticipation. But to all these considerations the Government of India turned a deaf ear. The prepa-

rations of the local Governments were urged on ; unwillingly, yet loyally, they set to, to carry out the wishes of the Supreme Government, when, at the eleventh hour—when infinite time and trouble had been given to the subject and a perceptible expenditure incurred, the whole proceeding is postponed, because, forsooth, the Financial Department cannot afford some five or six lakhs for the purpose. Most men probably do not regret this decision, and it is for this reason that so little notice has been taken of the extraordinary way in which it has been brought about. But if the matter be regarded dispassionately, it affords a very good instance of the mischievous manner in which the present action of the Financial Department is calculated to lead the Government into mal-administration and waste. For this is the second time the census has been postponed ; and when the project is taken up again, few will be found to enter into it heartily, or to believe that the Government sincerely intends to carry it out.

To return, however, from this digression. Sir Richard's whole policy, as disclosed in his successive financial statements, raises an important question in regard to the relation between the income-tax and opium, and the extent to which we may henceforth expect to see the former made to supplement any deficiency in the yield of the latter. Judging from the experience of past years, and from the declarations of the Government of India even while agreeing to limit the operation of the new Bill to the current year, we greatly fear that we must regard the income-tax as now added to the permanent sources of the revenue. If the discontent and disaffection which the tax has during the past year caused throughout the length and breadth of India, is insufficient to disturb the imperturbable self-complacency of the Financial Department, it can only be because the Government has resolved never again to surrender this obnoxious impost. The Government indeed assume to be strangely ignorant of the popular feeling on this subject. They would fain believe that the agitation on the subject is simply the work of a few selfish and interested Europeans in the Presidency towns. Sir Richard Temple seems to think that if there is no "oppression or over-taxation," the tax must necessarily be most equitable and excellent, and he points, with an air of triumph, to the "*résumé* of some thirteen cases" from the Government of Bengal, which are all that have been brought to the notice of the Financial Department, as a convincing proof that "oppression and over-taxation" have been reduced to a minimum. But Sir Richard Temple must be well aware that it is not only on account of oppression and over-taxation that the income-tax is unpopular. The income-tax is mainly unpopular in India because of its inquisitorial nature, and because direct taxation of any kind

is eminently unsuited to the character of the people. It is pretty generally understood that these views of the tax, as regards Bengal at all events, were very plainly laid before the Government of India some months ago, while to say that no remonstrance had been received from Madras, was simply to ignore the opinions to which Mr. Norton gave expression in Council without the slightest contradiction. The Local Cess Committee in the North-West told the same tale. They stigmatized the tax as one which is "odious both to the people on whom it is imposed and to the officers who are desired to impose it." There is, in fact, not a single district officer in India, who, if honestly asked to give a candid opinion on the subject, would not denounce the income-tax as one of the most iniquitous imposts that could be devised for this country. We may even cite Sir Richard Temple's own predecessor as a witness. "The peculiar objection which is entertained to an income-tax," said Mr. Massey, "is not so much the amount exacted under a moderate scale of assessment, but the inquisitorial process to which it is necessary to resort for the purpose of fixing the amount payable by those classes whose incomes are derived from the profits of professions and trades. The process is not very much to the taste of the English people, but it is specially repugnant to the habits and feelings of the people of India."

But, even supposing that the Government was not fully aware of the unpopularity of the income-tax at the time when Sir Richard Temple proposed to re-impose it for an indefinite period, any excuse of the sort was utterly cut away by the revelations that were made in the course of the debate upon the Bill. One by one the representatives of the local Governments—the irresponsible members of the Council, as Colonel Strachey somewhat facetiously designated them—denounced the impost in the strongest language, and implored the Government to pause before renewing so objectionable a tax. Even within the Executive Council itself, one or two traitors were found to lurk, who would have been glad enough to vote for the abolition of the tax, had not their position required them to support the proposals of the Supreme Government. The Commander-in-Chief, indeed, was the only Member of Council who dared to admit that he approved of the measure on principle. Mr. John Strachey contented himself with giving a flat and unqualified denial to Mr. Inglis's allegations of oppression and extortion; and then did his best to stifle information on the subject from official sources by declaring his conviction that any Collector or Commissioner who complained of the working of the tax, afforded the best evidence he could of his own utter incapacity! But Mr. Strachey must be well aware that no amount of able rhetoric on his part will convince people against the evidence of their senses. Oppression and iniquity may surely exist with

out its being reported to Government. But our position is that it has been reported, and that Government is fully aware that all those best capable of forming an opinion on the point, have condemned the income-tax in the strongest terms. If this is not so, why does not Sir Richard Temple publish the replies of the local Governments to the circular of which he spoke? Convicted of misrepresentation as he has been in the account which he publicly gave of those replies, is he afraid that the publication of the papers will damage his case still further?

In his financial statement Sir Richard Temple spoke as follows:—

‘It is noteworthy that on a circular being addressed by us to the several local Governments in India, inquiring whether there were any known cases of oppression or over-exaction, we received replies from all of them (except the Government of Bengal) to the effect that no such cases were known. The Government of Bengal indeed did transmit a *résumé* of some thirteen cases; this number is, of course, a matter for much regret, though relatively it is not large.’

In regard to this statement, Mr. Inglis said:—

‘This hardly gives a correct impression of the purport of the replies made. What was said was that extortion and bribery no doubt prevailed to a lamentable extent, but that no cases had been brought to the notice of Government, and *that it was not likely that such cases would be reported*, in that a man who had paid to get his name left out of the lists or who had paid to get off threatened surcharge, was not likely to come forward and state publicly what he had done. The Bengal Government, I believe, replied that the cases of oppression which had come to light were numerous, and that *thirteen were sent up as samples for the Government of India to examine.*’

Mr. Strachey may “decline to believe anything so discreditable to the local Governments,” but unfortunately it is none the less true. If he is still of the same mind, he has only to step over to the Board of Revenue, to find hundreds of authenticated cases. Let him in particular ponder over the following, which he may or may not find reported.

Two adjoining districts, not a thousand miles from Calcutta, (we won’t mention names; the Collector has doubtless been wiggled for incapacity already) are connected with each other by water-communication, and many of the residents of the one district have business connections with the other. A bright idea therefore seized the assessor of district A, say; and posting his myrmidons on the boundary line, he commenced to tax the owners of every boat that passed it. Now it so happened that in one boat came two brothers who had already paid the tax as a joint family in district B. Of course they were over-hauled like the rest, and *each* assessed at just double the amount at which the family had

been assessed in district B. They thus paid five times the amount which they ought to have paid, and it was only by accident that the matter came to the notice of the Collector. On enquiry the systematic way in which numbers of unfortunate people had been similarly robbed came to light, and up to date we believe that refunds have had to be made in no less than sixty cases. A pretty number for a single district to add to Sir Richard Temple's thirteen!

It is unnecessary to multiply instances of extortion and oppression. The Government may decline to believe the evidence, but to those who make an ordinary use of their eyes and ears, it is simply overwhelming. Of course all this iniquity has been magnified ten-fold during the past year in consequence of the high rate at which the tax was imposed; but it by no means follows that the irritation will cease with the reduction of the tax. On the contrary, we believe that the natives of the country generally would even prefer to retain the income tax at its excessive rate of $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the pound than have another set of assessors with their accompaniments set loose upon them. Yet this is what will take place so soon as the various schemes for provincial taxation are set in motion.

We think, then, that the Government of India has made a grand mistake in retaining the income tax for the present year, and would make a still greater mistake in imposing it for an indefinite period. The tax at best is a most unproductive tax. With all the squeezing that has taken place during the past year, it is estimated that $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent will barely yield two millions. The net realizations for the current year are only put at a trifle over half a million, and it is matter for very grave consideration whether, for the sake of this comparatively small sum, it is worth while to court the discontent, not to say the disaffection, of all classes of the people. Even if the tax were otherwise unobjectionable, the determination to levy it in the face of the opposition which it has caused, is altogether unjustifiable. At the present moment, the retention of the tax seems particularly unwise and impolitic. New forms of local taxation are now being devised, the effect of which must be to draw a large amount of money out of the pockets of the people. The measure is a novel and hazardous experiment, and the difficulties in the way have been increased ten-fold by the action of the Government of India in regard to the income-tax. But this brings us to another part of our subject.

The only new feature in Sir Richard Temple's present budget (if we except the permanent retention of the income-tax) is the scheme of the provincial services which was laid down by the Resolution of 14th December last. This scheme is a most important measure, and deserves serious consideration at the hands of all who are interested in the good government of India. It has been under discussion in the Governor-General's Council for some years,

but it first took a definite form in August last, when the Government of India proposed to raise a million sterling per annum by provincial taxation. This proposal was afterwards modified, but the only papers on the subject which the Government has as yet had the courage to publish, are those relating to the North West Government. Some of the correspondence will probably never be published except "by order of the House of Commons"; meanwhile we may be permitted to ask,—Can a Government which discountenances the expression of public opinion, and advisedly keeps back or ignores the deliberate sentiments of those who are opposed to its own pre-conceived views, expect to retain either the confidence or the respect of its subjects?*

It is impossible to deny that a wise scheme of decentralization, judiciously planned and honestly carried out, has long been one of the most urgent requirements of this country. It was advocated on financial grounds so far back as 1861, when Mr. Laing proposed a scheme of local funds for the construction and repair of public works. But such a scheme is even more urgently needed for the improvement of the administration and the future good government of this vast empire. In point of fact, it is just because, and so far as, the present scheme has subordinated the more general argument to financial considerations, that it has, in our opinion, failed to command a consummate success. For the present scheme exhibits internal evidence of being but a patchwork piece of statesmanship. There are traces in it of different hands and to some extent of conflicting views. It is clearly not the product of one master mind. It seems to us that a grand and noble idea has been appropriated as an expedient for reducing expenditure in what Sir Richard Temple chooses to call a financial crisis, and for shifting upon the local administrations the burden of fresh taxation. For, whatever the members of the Government of India may now say to the contrary, the main object of the present scheme is to afford relief to the imperial exchequer. The Resolution itself says "that the relief of the imperial finances has been a principal object in the discussion of the measure." Indeed, had not

* Some of our readers may recollect a controversy which was being carried on a few weeks ago, between the *Indian Daily News* and the *Englishman* (which is believed to be in some respects an inspired journal) as to the existence of a certain minute written by Sir William Grey in September or October last, in which he is generally believed to have recorded a very strong opinion of the unsuitability of direct taxation

to this country. The correspondence with the North-West, published in the Supplement to the *Gazette of India* for the 11th March 1871, implies that similar communications were addressed to and received from the Bengal Government. Are the views therein expressed so hostile and damaging to the action of the Financial Department, that the Government of India has prohibited their publication?

the late financial difficulties of the Government pressed the matter upon its attention, it may well be doubted whether the decentralization scheme would not have been allowed to lie upon the shelf for ten years longer. When first brought forward in August last, it is well known that the Government proposed to throw expenditure amounting to one million sterling upon the local administrations; and it was probably in consequence of the subsequent rise in the price of opium rather than in deference to the remonstrances of the subordinate Governments, that this large amount was subsequently reduced by two-thirds.

The fact remains that local taxation is still necessary; and so long as this is the case, it is an insult to common sense to deny that the scheme has for its object more or less the substitution of local, or rather provincial, for imperial taxation. Mr. John Strachey objects to the measure being called a measure for the decentralization of the finances, and he denies that "the result of the measure will be to throw upon the local instead of upon the imperial Government, the obligation of raising, by unpopular taxation, the funds necessary for carrying out on an extravagant scale all sorts of improvements." He announces the discovery that, although the local administrations have nominally been called upon to make good an expenditure of some £350,000, yet that this expenditure only exists on paper, and will not really be required. Mr. Strachey's ability is indisputable, but this attempt to throw dust into the eyes of the public was hardly worthy of his usual *finesse*. Indeed, with one of these very Local Rates Bills in his hand, he seems to have felt that he was treading on slippery ground. But a plausible explanation never fails Mr. Strachey. The local rates were for future improvements; "it was thought right to give to those local Governments in this Presidency which have no Legislatures of their own, power to supplement, to a moderate extent, their existing local funds by fresh moderate taxation." The truth is, however, that provincial taxation will be required everywhere, and for most provinces the necessary preliminaries have already been set in motion.

Lord Mayo took a more straightforward, if not a more justifiable, view of the case. He admitted that provincial taxation would be necessary, but he attempted to justify it by contrasting the amount with that the people, rightly or wrongly, were made to pay last year under an income tax of $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the pound. We admire Lord Mayo's frankness in these days of shuffling and equivocation; when men seem to delight to make the worse appear the better reason. But unfortunately the Viceroy's explanation runs somewhat counter to Mr. Strachey's. Neither is it altogether satisfactory. Lord Mayo says, that the whole policy of the Government, since he has been connected with it, has been the speedy

decrease, and not the *increase* of taxation, but the way in which he demonstrates his position, is, curiously enough, by alleging that the amount which has to be raised by local taxation in each province will not be as much as the income tax of 5*d.* in the pound, *which was only imposed last year as an emergency* and which is now to be remitted! It is to be observed, too, that Lord Mayo takes credit for the grant of £200,000, as though it were a permanent increase, whereas there is no reason whatever to suppose that it will be continued beyond the current year.

Viewed in its true character, therefore, the provincial services scheme will, and was intended to, substitute provincial for imperial taxation; and we see nothing particularly objectionable in this view of the measure, had it only been stated openly and in a straightforward manner. It may of course be argued that one tax is preferable to two, costing less to collect, and affording fewer opportunities for oppression and injustice. But on the other hand there is undoubtedly as great a need for decentralization in the method of collecting many of our taxes as in the expenditure of their proceeds. Too strict a uniformity in the method of raising money throughout India may be as impolitic as too strict a uniformity in the details of our administration.

The present scheme for decentralization may be briefly described as follows. The financial control over certain departments—to wit, jails, registration, police, education, medical services, printing, roads other than military, and civil buildings—is made over to the local Governments henceforth in perpetuity subject to certain general rules prescribed by the Government of India. With this control are transferred all the receipts of these departments, and a certain definite sum on account of their expenditure. The total of these sums falls short of the estimated expenditure for 1870-71 by £350,000, or about six per cent of the whole. This sum the provincial governments (Burmah excepted) have to make good, as well as all future increase of expenditure.

It has been objected to this scheme that it proceeds upon the basis of a starved year, *viz.*, that of 1870-71, when, in consequence of the financial crisis, all expenditure had been reduced to a minimum, and retrenchment was the order of the day. The real meaning of this objection is that either the reductions then ordered must now be considered to be stereotyped, or the amount of taxation thrown upon the local Governments is greater than appears at first sight. The former result, supposing it to be possible, cannot be other than a source of satisfaction to the tax-paying public. But unfortunately those departments which have been made over to the local administrations, are just those in which a natural growth is unavoidable; and the fact that this growth has been checked for the past two years to meet a temporary emer-

gency, is no argument for assuming that the cost of these departments can be maintained for ever at its present figure. The charge for public works has been actually reduced to what it was some nine years ago. The conclusion is irresistible that the sum which the Financial Department delights to represent as the provincial contribution to the grant, by no means represents the total amounts which the Local Governments will have to provide, unless the administration of these departments is to stand still. At the same time there is reason to think that when local governments are compelled to provide the ways and means for the improvements they suggest, instead of simply drawing upon an inexhaustible purse, a much greater regard will be paid both to efficiency and to economy. It is pretty generally believed that great reductions may still be effected in several departments, and if the present measure forces the subject upon the attention of the authorities, the public will have reason to thank the Financial Department for putting on the screw.

A more legitimate objection, perhaps, is that so short an interval has been allowed to the minor administrations for the consideration and preparation of suitable schemes of local taxation. In December 1870 the local Governments are told that henceforth their assignments for certain services will be fixed at £350,000 below their present cost, and that this sum, together with the expense of all future improvements must be provided out of provincial funds—the arrangement taking effect from the 1st April 1871. The Government of India seems to have felt that there was some injustice in this arrangement, and Sir Richard Temple, out of the fullness of his heart and the public purse, has granted an additional assignment of £200,000, the effect of which will be to mitigate the extent of provincial taxation, or to postpone its operation for six months. If a scheme of provincial taxation was to be set on foot at all, the Government of India could not well have done more than this.

The most serious drawback, in our opinion, to the provincial services scheme is the uncertainty and want of finality which attends its provisions. We have already said that, when first proposed, the local Governments were expected to contribute no less than one million sterling. As the prospects of the year brightened, the amount was reduced to £350,000; which sum, again, for the current year, has in consequence of the surplus been further reduced by £200,000. But the question remains, whether, in the event of another financial crisis two or three years hence, this enforced local contribution may not suddenly be increased to an enormous extent. Should opium, for instance, fail to realize the budget estimate in 1872-73, what guarantee have we that Sir Richard Temple will not reduce the assignment for

provincial services by a million in 1873-74? Paragraph 17 of the Resolution distinctly intimates that the assignment will be reduced in such a case.

Subject to these exceptions, the decentralization scheme appears to us to hold out very great promise of improvement in the administration of the country. The double system of Government which has been carried on hitherto, was rapidly becoming intolerable. Not the smallest reform in any department could be carried out without the approval of the Financial Department; while the delay in procuring sanction to the most urgent proposals was often simply heart-rending. The command of the purse, again, gave the Government of India a supposed right to interfere in the most petty details, by which, so far from effecting any good, it only excited a spirit of disgust and ill-feeling on the part of the subordinate administrations. The Government of India has itself at last acknowledged the fact that it is unable, from want of sufficient special and local knowledge, to control the administrative details of the various provinces of this vast empire. The sole effect of the attempt to do so was an undue amount of uniformity. The varying wants and circumstances of different provinces were not taken into account, because they were unknown and unappreciated. The whole country was to be ruled on one standard plan—a plan generally inapplicable to some province or other, sometimes applicable to none. But it is unnecessary to dilate upon the evils of this state of things; the Government confess themselves aware of their existence, and we can only trust that they will not lose sight of them until the present reform is carried very much farther than is now proposed.

For the present scheme will undoubtedly remedy these evils so far as those departments which it embraces are concerned. In the first place we may expect to see a greater amount of vigour instilled into the local Governments themselves. The unlimited power of control, as it carries with it greater responsibility, will also develope higher administrative ability. The working of these selected departments will be submitted to a scrutiny which they have never undergone before; and, while economy is insisted on, efficiency will be no less promoted. This improved control cannot but re-act upon the *personnel* of the departments, in every grade of whom we may fairly expect to see an increase of zeal and energy.

In the foregoing remarks we have carefully avoided calling the present scheme a scheme of *local* taxation, because we do not believe it to be anything of the kind. Local taxation, as we understand the term, means a self-imposed taxation within a limited area, the proceeds of which are administered by the representatives of the tax-payers, and devoted to objects in which

they are peculiarly interested. Now the provincial taxation which the Government of India has in view, is not local taxation in any sense, except that it may vary in different provinces and that the proceeds of one province will not be spent in another. But when we consider that these provinces are about the size of France, Germany, and other countries of Europe, the impropriety of the term *local* will be apparent. If we can suppose the whole of Europe administered by one central authority—the most Christian Emperor of Germany say—and that his righteous minister Bismarck had just allowed England, France and Russia, to raise taxes for the construction of whatever public works they respectively required, we may realize to some extent the meaning of the present measure. It is of course to be hoped that local taxation will follow in due time; the local Governments are now directly interested in encouraging the growth of the principle of self-government. But to confound the provincial services scheme with a measure of local taxation, would be to make a great and unpardonable mistake.

The next point to which we must advert in regard to Sir Richard Temple's budget, is the present swollen state of the cash balances. And first we will state the facts. Sir Richard Temple began the year 1870-71 with cash balances amounting to 14 millions sterling. Throughout the year they have been very high—"higher than they have been for some eight years past." "This circumstance," Sir Richard Temple thinks, "is to some extent satisfactory and calculated to raise confidence in our finance." It is expected that the year will close with a balance of 16 millions, or six millions in excess of the sum which has usually been considered to be necessary. This is exclusive of a balance of two millions in the hands of the Secretary of State.

Sir Richard Temple has been questioned on several occasions as to the necessity for retaining such large cash balances, and his reasons, such as they are, are given in his rejoinder in the debate on the Income Tax Bill, and in his reply to the representation of the British Indian Association. In the former, he states that a large portion of the money belongs to the Public Works and Railway Departments, "for the payment of which, sooner or later, we are liable." "Besides these manifest liabilities, any broad view of all the circumstances of our finance would show that we have many contingent liabilities"; the Secretary of State borrows in England to avoid loss by exchange; the amount of the balances are certainly higher than they used to be in former years, but not relatively to our growing expenditure; in fine, Sir Richard Temple "assures the Council that the present amount of cash balances is not otherwise than satisfactory." The British Indian Association is simply informed that the cash balances represent trust funds amounting to 21½ millions, and that "the matter receives constant attention."

Now, we cannot help saying that these reasons are not only insufficient in themselves, but the fact of his advancing them would seem to show that Sir Richard Temple does not understand the use and object of a cash balance. To argue that because the money is in trust, it is to be kept lying idle in the State coffers, is the same thing (as the *Observer* pointed out) as to say that an Insurance Company should keep all its paid-up premiums locked up in its coffers. Such a company, however, would probably prefer to invest the bulk of the money to the best advantage, keeping only such a sum in reserve as should suffice for current requirements. This is also the policy which most financiers would adopt with regard to the balances of the Exchequer. But what is Sir Richard Temple's course? He begins the year, as we have seen, with a cash balance of 16 millions, and estimates that he will have upwards of 15 millions at its close. He says, he regards a large cash balance as a satisfactory feature in our finance. This was not, however, the opinion of Mr. Massey, nor of any of his predecessors. In his statement for 1866-67 Mr. Massey spoke as follows:—

'Owing to the peculiarity of our administration, the public monies, instead of being collected in two or three depositories, are diffused through a great number of Treasuries and Collectorates scattered through the country; and the consequence is, that a far greater amount of money is required to be kept in reserve for the public service than would be necessary under a concentrated system. As the country is opened up by railroads, we shall be able to dispense with many minor treasuries, and in proportion as they disappear we shall be able to work the Government with diminished balances. At present we require about ten millions; all that we have beyond this amount is available for other purposes.'

Now, what the public want to know, is why Sir Richard Temple requires five or six millions more to work with than Mr. Massey did, more particularly in the face of Mr. Massey's statement that the amount ought to be susceptible of reduction year by year? It is an important question, involving as it does some quarter of a million per annum, and it seems to us that the public is entitled to a rational explanation.

Sir Richard Temple explains that a portion of the accumulated cash balances is to be attributed to the fact that the Secretary of State raised money in England to prevent the loss by exchange in drawing bills upon India. There was, doubtless, wisdom in this proceeding. The loss by exchange has averaged 6.67 per cent during the past year, and the Secretary of State had no difficulty in borrowing at 5 per cent. So far so good. But to an ordinary individual, uninitiated in the mysteries of Indian finance, it does seem curious that, although so much the less money was required in India to meet the Secretary of State's bills, it should,

nevertheless, have been kept idle in the State coffers, awaiting a contingency which could not possibly arise, instead of being applied to redemption of debt. It will be borne in mind that we are only discussing the question on Sir Richard Temple's own ground, that "the loans raised by the Secretary of State represent so much less of drawings, and that this difference saves us expense more or less." Common sense seems to suggest that for every million so borrowed in England a million of debt should have been cancelled in India. But, so far from this, we would seem to have been borrowing more money here.

And how does the case stand now? The balance in hand on account of Public Works Extraordinary at the end of 1870-71 is estimated to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and the Secretary of State proposes to borrow as much more during the ensuing year, making a total of five millions, of which Sir Richard Temple does not believe that $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions will be expended. Why the difference of one million and-a-half should be borrowed at all, Sir Richard Temple does not condescend to explain.

Perhaps the most melancholy feature in the late discussions on the Budget has been the pitiful attempts which certain of the members of the Government have made to juggle the public by misrepresentation. It is always the sign of a bad cause when a defence is set up which will not bear investigation. And such a process is attended with worse consequences than the mere failure of the attempt, when the actors in it are the members of an irresponsible Government. What the public ask, is to be taken into the confidence of the Government in regard to its financial policy. The Government pretend to comply with this desire, and then proceed either to mystify matters as much as possible, or else to exhibit them in a false light. The result is, that the public, naturally enough, conclude that there is either a want of intellectual capacity or of moral honesty. We have already exposed the hollowness of the arguments by which the Government of India has endeavoured to prove its justice and liberality in regard to the provincial services scheme. It is impossible to understand how that Government can ever have imagined that the public would be deceived by those arguments, specious as they were. A similar instance of misrepresentation was afforded by Colonel Strachey in regard to the public works expenditure. We refer to it in this place in order to show that the most confidential statements of the Government must be received with caution. The gross fallacy that underlies Colonel Strachey's whole argument is so palpable that even Sir Richard Temple found it necessary to anticipate the Opposition in exposing it.

Colonel Strachey complains that the department of Public Works has always been made the scape-goat on which the obloquy of the Indian deficit is thrown. The charge, he says, is as

unjust as it is untrue. And he proceeds to defend his position by contrasting the Public Works expenditure in the years 1861-62 and 1870-71. In the former year the Public Works charges, including guaranteed interest on Railways, amounted to £6,180,000; in 1870-71 they aggregated £6,039,000, showing a decrease of £181,000. There are two fallacies in this argument. *First*, the decrease is only arrived at by taking account of the *net* guaranteed interest, and Colonel Strachey's reasons for so doing are not to our mind conclusive; and *secondly*, the year which Colonel Strachey has selected for the purpose of his comparison is the very year in which those great reductions were made for which the public called so loudly. The public do not complain of the Public Works charges *now*; they complained of them as they stood two years ago. Since then reductions to the extent of 2½ millions have been made—reductions for which, had they been made more gradually and with greater circumspection, Colonel Strachey would fairly have earned the gratitude of the people of India. But to contrast the result after these reductions with the expenditure nine years ago, in order to show that the public were wrong in singling out Public Works as the great spending department, is so obvious a fallacy that no school-boy would have been guilty of it. The fact that reductions to so great an extent have been found possible in the Public Works Department, is rather a proof that the public were right. Colonel Strachey seems indeed to detect the flaw in his own argument, but the manner in which he tries to patch it up, is even more illogical than his original position.

'In order that the Council should properly understand the exact position of the Public Works expenditure, it was right that he should state that the year in which the outlay for Public Works was the greatest was 1868-69—a year to which he had not before referred—in which it was £8,284,000, or two and a half millions in excess of the sums which he had taken in his comparison. But it would be remarked that the total outlay of the country in that year was also two and a half millions in excess of the total of the years to which he had referred. The consequence was that if in 1868-69 the Public Works expenditure had been reduced to what it was in 1870-71, the total expenditure would still have been upwards of 50 millions, and still six millions in excess of 1861-62, and *therefore the unusual public works expenditure of that year had nothing whatever to do with that general excess of charge.* The absolute deficit in 1868-69 was £2,774,000, and there would still remain a deficit of half a million, if the extra outlay of two and a half millions had not taken place.'

In other words, A ought not to be flogged for stealing the apples, because B also helped to steal them! Of course after this, Sir Richard Temple was obliged to interfere.

The expenditure of 1870-71 exceeds that of 1868-69 by about

six millions ; the increase of revenue is seven millions. In both years the income-tax yielded about two millions, so that, (if we take the regular estimate for 1870-71 for our basis) exclusive of the income-tax, our revenue falls short of our expenditure by a million sterling. Of this deficit, one-third is now thrown upon the local Governments, who are to provide for it by provincial taxation ; the other two-thirds are to be made good by a permanent income-tax.

In the foregoing pages we have spoken somewhat freely. We have not hesitated to condemn the action of the Government in proposing to retain the income-tax in the face of the experience which it has had of its unsuitableness to and unpopularity in India. We have endeavoured to expose the short-sighted policy which would seek to conceal or mitigate the true effect of the provincial services scheme. We have expressed a belief that the Financial Department—never strong at any time—in just now particularly weak. But for all this, we must not be understood to agree with those who would have us believe that the Government of India is utterly unscrupulous and deficient in ability. There is no doubt whatever that Lord Mayo's Government contains men of very eminent talents, and that they are one and all desirous of doing what they believe to be the best for the country. Fettered in many ways by Home interference, they are not to be judged altogether as free agents. What we complain of is, that they do not endeavour to bring themselves sufficiently *en rapport* with the people they represent. They are at once too regardless and too impatient of criticism from without. They are confident in their own superior wisdom, and when it is brought in question, they lose their temper and decline to exhibit the proofs on which they imagine its superiority to rest. As a whole, however, their administration has little to fear from the Parliamentary enquiry which is about to be undertaken. Meanwhile, their task is not yet closed. The fact is indisputable that large reductions are still feasible, more especially in those departments which are directly subordinate to the Government of India. The Government must also set their face as a flint against any increase of expenditure ; if they can do this, the gradual expansion of the revenue will soon make good the small deficit which still remains to be liquidated by direct taxation. But if they have not the courage and the power to do this, then their task is to devise some means of indirect taxation, which shall be more acceptable to the people than the present income-tax. The only remedy for the present state of things lies in one of these three methods—further reduction of expenditure, stoppage of its growth, or new measures of indirect taxation ; and according to the manner in which the Government apply the remedy, will be the measure of success which the public are prepared to award them.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

INDIAN SNAKES.—*An elementary treatise on Ophiology, with a descriptive catalogue of the snakes found in India and the adjoining countries.* By Edward Nicholson, Assistant Surgeon, Royal Artillery. Madras; Higginbotham & Co. 1870.

THE study of Herpetology in India has of late years, especially since the publication of Dr. Günther's monograph by the Ray Society, been pushed forward vigorously by those few naturalists who have devoted attention to that not generally attractive branch of zoology. The field of observation is large, and the labourers are as yet comparatively few, but still the time is fast approaching when it will be possible to compile a really comprehensive work on the subject, by the judicious amalgamation of the materials which such pioneers as Blyth, Jerdon, Theobald, Beddome, Stoliczka and others, have in various ways contributed to advance our knowledge of the subject. Some such work we may look for in Jerdon's promised *Manual of the Reptiles of India*. Meanwhile, we gratefully hail the appearance of the unpretending little volume before us, calculated as it is to ingratiate the study with a wider circle of observers than heretofore, by facilitating the acquisition of that elementary acquaintance with the subject which is essential to an intelligent interest therein. In his preface the author thus pleasantly expresses himself:—"I have written these pages as much in hope of dispelling the lamentable prejudices entertained in India against some of the most beautiful and harmless of God's creatures, as to afford an elementary treatise for the study of an interesting branch of natural history by which the weariness of Indian service may be mitigated."

The author goes on to observe:—"The Descriptive Catalogue in Part IV is drawn up on the basis of Günther (on the Reptiles of British India), and for the description of those snakes with which I am not personally acquainted, I am largely indebted to his work." No further acknowledgment is made by the writer to any of his other predecessors in Ophiology in India, though it is difficult to conceive a work of this nature being executed without some reference to the previous labours of such men as Blyth, Jerdon, &c.; neither do we think that the author would have been lowered in the estimation of his readers by some brief allusion to those Indian Naturalists who have laboured in the same field. On the supposition, indeed, that the preface is the last part of a work which an author prepares, it is difficult to acquit the writer

of the present treatise of a very bad memory, inasmuch as it is clear that he has largely availed himself of the Catalogue of Reptiles by Mr. Theobald, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for 1868, and of the Catalogue, by the same gentleman, of the Reptiles of British Burmah, published in the Linnæan Society's Journal, Vol. X, without acknowledging either of these sources of information.

The treatise is divided into four parts—Physiology ; Natural History ; Classification ; a Descriptive Catalogue—and an Appendix. As a favourable specimen of the author's style in treating of Physiology, we extract the following passage from page 11 :—
 " But it is in *Daboia* that we see the perfection of mechanism : on removal of the skin covering the cheek, we come at once across a strong tendon lying below the eye ; it arises from the muscles of the cheek and from the fibrous covering of the poison-gland, and is inserted into the maxilla. This bone is found to be considerably modified in form ; it is no longer placed below the orbit ; this position is occupied by the elongated external pterygoid, whilst the maxilla, only one-fifth of an inch long (in a large *Daboia*) but double that in height, is placed at the end of this bone like a hammer-head at the end of its handle. Imagine the head of a hammer with the claw downwards, representing the fang, hinged at its junction with the handle, and with a string fastened to the head so as to erect at will the claw from its usual supine state ; you will then have a pretty accurate idea of the mechanism of a viper's upper jaw." We must leave the student to gather for himself the sundry items of information scattered through the six chapters, into which Part I is subdivided, most of which seems fairly and correctly stated. At page 16 it is said, however, that the number of longitudinal rows of scales varies from 12 to 75, but this is not quite correct, as in *Chersydrus* the number of rows exceeds 100. The name of Schlegel, whom the author, we believe, has consulted, might have here been complementarily alluded to.

Part II is divided into four chapters:—The Snake at liberty ; the Serpentarium ; the Museum ; Antidotes to snake-poison. The proper means to adopt in order the more quickly to domesticate those cobras, which, for scientific purposes, you wish to study beneath your own roof-tree, may be here quoted, though we are not sanguine that many of our readers will attempt to profit by these directions ; indeed, if their subscriptions are regularly paid, we perhaps would rather that they did not. " When the cobra is on the floor, squat down before him, and bring him to attention, if he is making tracks, by a smart smack on the back ; then by a side-to-side movement of the knees, or gently moving in front of him a piece of chalk held in the left hand, he can be kept steady for a long time following your movements. If your attention relaxes,

"he calms down and backs away : catch hold of him by the tail, or smack him on the back, and he will come to attention again. Keep him occupied with an object in front of him, and you may do anything to him ; place your right hand above his head, and you can bring him flat to the ground, swearing hard, but without any attempt at resistance." (p. 32).

The author most properly reprobates the barbarity some people are guilty of in thrusting a live snake into a bottle of spirits. The most convenient way to kill a snake is to put it into a bottle with a little chloroform, which in ten or fifteen minutes causes death painlessly, or "by blowing into his mouth a drop or two of the oil from a dirty tobacco pipe." This last is certainly an ingenious idea, but as all our readers may not possess "dirty pipes," we may mention the simpler plan of severing the spine at the nape with a penknife or pair of small scissors.

On the question of antidotes to snake-poison, the experience of the author is not hopeful :—"As for medicines given internally, I have but small faith in them. I have known a bad case of snake-bite cured by the administration of the contents of the cruet-stand mixed up together, but the remedy was heroic." And the author winds up the subject as follows :—"I have seen enough of experiments with antidotes to know that they are of a very unsatisfactory nature, and their evidence open to any amount of objection. Antidotes for snake-poison, like those for cholera, only succeed in the hands of their inventors." (p. 42).

Part III contains three chapters :—Principles, Diagnosis of an unknown snake, and Method of description. The arrangement of genera seems little else than an abbreviated sketch of Günther's system, several genera mentioned afterwards in Part IV not figuring in it. These three Parts embrace 53 pages, leaving 63 pages occupied by Part IV, or the Descriptive Catalogue Proper. Of Part IV we regret we cannot speak so highly as we could wish, but its shortcomings are not perhaps so much due to any fault of the author's as to the supreme necessity of condensing matter within a moderate compass. An Army Surgeon cannot be expected to risk any considerable sum in the publication of a bulky volume, which will never pay by its sale what it actually costs. Experience has long since taught men of science the amount of encouragement they may expect from the well-to-do, if not wealthy, European public in India. Under these circumstances, there is little encouragement to aim at completeness in a work of this kind, but rather at so much only in the shape of detail and description as can be compassed without ruinous pecuniary loss.

Making, however, all due allowance for the above considerations, we think that the author should at least have given his authority for the specific names, which, save in a very few instances, he

never does. Neither is a single synonym given throughout the book, though in some cases such are required in any work pretending to scientific exactness. In many cases, too, the localities seem somewhat loosely given, and always without authority, so as to be of comparatively little weight, as it never appears when the author is speaking of his own knowledge, or merely quoting some perhaps very untrustworthy source. As an example of this we may instance *Geophis*, which is recorded from "Madras, Nilghiris." This is a Nilghiri snake, and therefore not very likely to come from near Madras; or, if by "Madras" the presidency is signified, it is an unmeaning term without further explanation.

In like manner we should have been glad to know the author's authority for the occurrence of *Python moberus* in Burmah. It may occur, but, as far as we know, *Python reticulatus* is the only species hitherto recorded from that province. At page 74 we read—"C. *Pictus* is noted by Mr. Theobald as occurring in Burmah." Now the only coluber in Mr. Theobald's catalogue, from Burmah, is *C. Nuthalli* (Theobald) with *C. Pictus* (Carlyle MSS. in part) quoted as a synonym. This *C. Pictus* is a mere MS. name, which is quite inadmissible, having been neither described nor published by its author, and merely attached to a museum label; moreover, several snakes were confounded under it, so that it is quite an error to rehabilitate it at the expense of the described and published name *C. Nuthalli*. Whilst on nomenclature, we may remark that Mr. Theobald seems to have incurred the disapprobation of the author by the manufacture of such generic names as "Falconeria," "Blythia," "Grotea," &c. As we do not agree with the author, we quote his words at length that we may not be supposed to have weakened their force by curtailment. "The practice of naming new genera after private friends is very objectionable. Falconeria is, doubtless, a very handsome name that any snake might be proud of, but tributes of respect to my friends Smith, Brown and Robinson, would endow Ophiology with as hideous a set of names as any in a seedman's catalogue. Besides, there are many Smiths, and we should be compelled to fall back on such names as *Johnsmithia*, *Bengalensis*, or *Sydney Smithia elegans*. Happy the pioneer in zoology, whose friends have handsome names." (p. 62). The last sentence, penned as a sneer, we see no reason for not very frankly endorsing as a fact, neither are we altogether free from a feeling of pain at the thought that in India of all places the hallowed name of Hugh Falconer should produce, in any one claiming to be a naturalist, no other response than a pitiful witticism about John Smith. The author may be right and we may be wrong, but we can see no inherent or self-evident impropriety in the creation of such generic terms as Falconeria, Blythia, and the like. The custom is a time-honoured, and we consider a justifiable one, and so we must

continue to think till such names as *Rafflesia*, *Jonesia*, *Careya*, *Oldhamia*, *Murchisonia*, are abolished by the general consent of the scientific world.

Among the more important omissions, we note the absence of the family *Dasypeltidæ* which embraces one of the most singular snakes in the world, *Elachistodon Westermanni* (Rein), from Rungpore. This snake is described as possessing a series of gular teeth, if we may so term bony appendages to the cervical vertebra, which pierce the living membrane of the œsophagus, and being coated on their free extremity with enamel, simulate a row of true teeth. The function these curious appendages seem to perform is to ensure the more rapid and complete destruction of the shells of such birds' eggs as the snake may swallow, and the followers of Paley may possibly see in it a new and beautiful example of "design." A serious difficulty, however, to the complete acceptance of the dictum of this mildly wholesome philosophy is, the necessity of some rational explanation of how, according to the "design" theory, 999 snakes are left unprovided with so palpably beneficial an apparatus and yet get on just as well without it as the one favoured individual, which by the way would seem to be a rare snake, despite its natural advantages.

Another serious omission from a work of this character addressed to students is the absence of any allusion to the singular formation of the poison glands in some species of *Callophis*. In *C. intestinalis* (Laur.) these glands exceed one-third the length of the body, and, according to Stoliczka, who has recently verified Mayer's original description, "their anterior half is extremely thin, after "which they gradually thicken, terminating in front of the heart with "club-shaped ends, being here partially surrounded by the parenchyma of the internal organs." (J. A. S., 1870, p. 213.) At page 90 the author notices the circumstance of a *Gerarda*, generally reported to be a West Indian genus, having been caught at Rangoon. We may observe that some other snakes recorded in Gray's Catalogue as from the "West Indies," are really from Pegu, as for example, *Tragops fronticinctus*, which is common on the Arracan coast. In venturing, however, to correct the "habitats" of Indian animals as determined by naturalists in England, we feel we are venturing on very delicate ground, and even in pointing out the trifling difference, geographically speaking, between the East and West Indies, we are not sure that we may not incur the displeasure of those scientific magnates of Great Russell Street, whose geographical notions of "INDIA" are so very much more expanded than our own.

In conclusion, we can very cordially recommend the little work before us. We have not attempted to conceal its shortcomings, but it will nevertheless prove very valuable to all students

who do not possess the elaborate monograph of Günther, and we sincerely trust the author may be encouraged by the disposal of the present edition to attempt another on a somewhat larger scale.

A SHAKESPEARIAN GRAMMAR.—*An attempt to illustrate some of the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English.* For the use of Schools. By E. A. Abbott, M.A., Head Master of the City of London School, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Revised and enlarged Edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1870.

SOME years ago it used to be made a complaint against our system of high-class education in England that the study of Latin and Greek were unduly fostered in our Grammar Schools to the exclusion of more modern subjects, and especially of our own language. That complaint was not altogether without foundation. It was no uncommon thing to find boys, whose education was supposed to have been completed, unable to express themselves in ordinarily decent English. Even scholars, accustomed to clothe their thoughts in the language of Cicero or Demosthenes, found their acquaintance with English literature and history limited to what they had picked up by casual reading, or in those Shakespearean and other literary Clubs, the memory of whose sociable meetings must ever form one of the pleasantest associations connected with University life. Of late, however, all this has been changed. The study of the English language and English literature has been recognized as important, if not absolutely necessary, to the attainment of a liberal education. It occupies a high place in the list of subjects for the Civil Service Examinations. It has been introduced in all the middle-class, and in most of the higher, public schools. It is now occupying the attention of the University authorities. A play of Shakespeare has already been introduced as one of the subjects for the annual examination at Christ's College, Cambridge, and we hear that a similar innovation is in contemplation at Trinity.

It was only to be expected that the impulse which has thus been given to the study of English should call forth a literature of its own. Trench's unpretending little volumes are well-known to all, and since he created an interest in the subject, there has been no lack of writers. But one of the most able, and at the same time one of the most useful works on the subject, is Mr. Abbott's attempt, as he calls it, to illustrate the difference between Elizabethan and modern English. That the attempt has been a successful one, is proved by the fact that

a third edition of the *Shakespearian Grammar* has been called for within a year of its publication. Mr. Abbott is one of the most successful school-masters now working in England, and he has especially distinguished himself by the exertions which he has made towards reforming the curriculum of our middle-class education.

The *Shakespearian Grammar* is a neat little volume of about 500 paragraphs, in which the author explains and illustrates by numerous quotations the various difficulties which beset the student of Shakespeare. Taking the different parts of speech in turn, ambiguities of construction, or the various uses of the same particle, are explained with a critical and scholarly discrimination which leaves nothing to be desired. Anomalies of prosody are then considered, and examples given of questions for examination. To the whole are appended two indexes—one a verbal index, and the other arranged for certain plays; and so full is this latter index that, as Mr. Abbott himself says, “with the aid of a glossary and historical notes the references will serve for a complete commentary.”

We could not pretend, in a short sketch like the present, to convey to our readers anything like an accurate impression of the vast amount of scholarly labour of which this little book is the product. It is quite possible that in some instances Mr. Abbott has been misled into a confusion between what may be fairly called Elizabethan anomalies, and what are more probably due to poetic license, and may, indeed, be traced in the poetry, if not in the *prose*, of the present day. Thus, the use of the infinitive in the line—

“To fright you thus methinks I am too savage,”—*Macbeth*, iv. 2. 70.

is not surely so very unusual in modern times. It does not strike us as particularly Elizabethan (as distinguished from modern English) to say, “I was a brute to frighten you as I did.” But putting such cases as this aside, we are free to admit that Elizabethan English has its own anomalies and irregularities which call for explanation; and, if Mr. Abbott has made these anomalies an excuse to enter more deeply into the construction of our language than perhaps he need have done in a purely Shakespearian Grammar, we can only congratulate ourselves that we have all the more to thank him for.

It is with much pleasure therefore that we desire to introduce this little work to the notice of the educational authorities in this country, where the study of English forms, as it were, the basis of a liberal education. Bengali Baboos are said to be fond of quoting our prince of poets, and they will not quote him less intelligently, if they make themselves acquainted with Mr. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*.

GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA, comprising a descriptive outline of all India, and a detailed Geographical, Commercial, Social and Political account of each of its Divisions, with Historical Notes. By George Duncan. Fifth Edition (corrected to the latest date). Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1870.

JUDGING from the binding and general appearance of this little volume, we concluded at first that it was a new edition or reprint of the *Geography of India* in Allen's Series, which we had occasion to notice (not very favourably, we regret to say) a short time back. But on comparing the two books, although there is a certain identity in language as well as in form, they would not appear to be the compilation of the same hand. Were not the same publisher's *imprimatur* on the cover of both, we might be inclined to suppose that Allen's anonymous *Geography*, which we noticed last year, was a mere plagiarism of Mr. Duncan's, the first edition of which seems to have appeared in 1865. The fact however would appear to be, that both books are based on Thornton's *Gazetteer*, the very language of which has been largely borrowed by both writers, and this circumstance is sufficient to account for the very striking resemblance in their style. The following extracts from the description of Assam will give the reader an idea of our meaning:—

Thornton's.

"On the north, south and east Assam is bordered by mountains of great elevation. The face of the country within presents to the eye an immense plain, studded with numerous clumps of hills rising abruptly from the general level. In the number of its rivers Assam is said to exceed every country in the world of similar extent. The existence of sixty-one has been ascertained, and there are many others of less importance. The chief among them is the Brahmaputra" * * *

Duncan's.

"The country is almost a perfect flat, studded with clumps of little green conical hills which rise abruptly from the general level to the height of from 200 to 700 feet, and bordered on the north, east and south by mountains of great elevation. The Brahmaputra and its affluents, which are everywhere navigable, intersect Assam in all directions, and perhaps no country in the world can compare with it in the number of its streams. It is always swampy, and in the rainy season the country is flooded like an inland sea."

Allen's.

"This large and important province is part of an immense plain, studded with numerous groups of hills, from 200 to 700 feet in height, and bordered on the north-east and south by lofty mountains. It is intersected in every direction by rivers, of which the Brahmaputra is the principal. As many as sixty-one have been described, and there are others smaller. It is said that in this respect Assam exceeds every country in the world of similar extent. * * * The low lands are swampy, and in the rainy season flooded."

In his preface to the first edition Mr. Duncan writes:—"As accuracy is of the first importance in a book of this nature, I have been most careful in dealing with it (*sic*) throughout." The present edition is also said to be "corrected up to date;" and although some allowance must be made for a man who wrote in 1865 that irrigation canals had already driven famine from her strongholds, and that Assam had been rescued from the tiger and the jungle, still it might have been expected that a writer who undertook to compile a *Geography of India* would have taken some further steps to make himself acquainted with his subject than simply to plagiarize upon Thornton's *Gazetteer*. Mr. Duncan's book, however, no less than the *Geography* in Allen's Series, which we criticised last year, teems with inaccuracies,—inaccuracies so palpable, too, that a very little study and research would have sufficed to expose them. Thus, turning to Bengal, we are told that "all the divisions in the Lower Provinces, except Chota Nagpore and Assam, which are governed by Commissioners, are subject to the direct control of a Lieutenant-Governor." Mr. Duncan should know that *every* division has its own Commissioner; that in Bengal there is now an eleventh division called Cooch Behar, and that all eleven are under the direct control of the Lieutenant-Governor, none of them being "subject to the Supreme Government of India," as erroneously stated on page 82. Chota Nagpore does not signify "Nagpore the less," but is a corruption of *Chattia Nagpore*, the name of the old royal capital. "In the cold season," we are told, "north winds prevail, and shallow pots of water placed in the open air all night are found in the morning covered with thin sheets of ice." (p. 68) We doubt very much if ice is ever manufactured in this way below Allahabad. But what would our inland skippers say to the following:—"The steamers on the Ganges are especially adapted for its navigation, being made to draw little more than three feet of water. They drag after them, in the manner of a train, one or more passenger and cargo boats called flats, and so transport many tons at a time." (p. 70) Under the head of *Telegraphs*, the Assam line is completely ignored, while the East India Railway is the only one said to have a telegraph in connection with it. "In the neighbourhood of Rajmahal," we are told on p. 75, "are the Rajmahal hills, or Damanikoh, the first high ground to be seen in ascending the Ganges from Calcutta." We always thought, on the contrary, that the Damanikoh was applied, in accordance with its etymology, to the *low* lands *skirting* the foot of the hills. But there is no need to multiply instances of inaccuracies which ought not to exist in a school-book intended for the instruction of the young. The geography of India is a large subject, and the local knowledge necessary for its accurate description is probably not to be found in any single

man: But Mr. Duncan should get his work revised by competent hands in different parts of the country, and then he might make it a first-rate school-book; or let him wait until the new Gazetteers are finished, when he will find the work he has to do ready to his hand.

We should add that the index, like the rest of the contents of this *Geography*, calls for revision. An index can scarcely be said to be complete, which omits all mention of such places as Darjeeling and Serajunge.

THOUGHTS ON THE WAR AND ON EUROPEAN POLICY.—*By a Positivist.* Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870.

THESE 'thoughts' are heralded in by the usual flourish of trumpets which announces the approach of a Positivist. Whatever be in the future for the religion of Humanity, it may be safely predicted that it will not suffer from any ill-timed modesty on the part of its professors. Auguste Comte set an admirable example in the way of glorification, which his followers have not been slow to imitate; and our "Positivist" in this respect comes in no whit behind his better known co-religionists, Congreve, Brydges, Harrison and Beesley. Positivism, we learn from him, contains everything, and can do everything. It sets up "no rigid and uncompromising standard of belief." It is the only system which possesses "any real logical consistency." It is at once "elastic and coherent." It makes "due allowances for differences of opinion"; and in this, as well as other points, stands in brilliant contrast to that effete thing known as Theology, which, we grieve to find, "is utterly powerless now to afford any solution, however vague and tentative," of practical difficulties.

We do not profess to understand at all precisely the language which the "Positivist" applies to his faith, but if theology has so completely broken down, as our author assures us it has, we would gladly be believers, if we could, in the efficacy of his substitute. Our difficulty lies, as much as anywhere, in the means proposed by the "Positivist" for accomplishing the millennium. They seem hardly adequate for the purpose. They are nothing else than to depose the Pope of Rome, and set up another in his stead who shall teach the doctrines of Auguste Comte in place of those of Jesus of Nazareth. At least, so we understand the following passage. "Until a power," says the Positivist, "somewhat akin to the spiritual power of Rome in the middle ages, is solidly established, until the nations are again united by a common religion,.....we shall never be free from constant rumours of wars, and from the occasional outbreak of such conflicts as the one we are now witnessing amid the rich plains and smiling valleys of Eastern France."

Assuredly, if this be all which Positivism can devise to remedy the evils of the world, the indifference of men to the new Gospel may well be excused. This remedy has been in operation for many centuries, and has availed nothing in the prevention of wars or rumours of wars. The crusades in Palestine and Provence, the murders of the Inquisition, the massacre of St. Bartholomew—forbid us altogether to hope anything of good from a spiritual power “akin to that of Rome in the middle ages.” The Positivist will, perhaps, retort that these are evils essential to a theological belief, but altogether incompatible with the religion of Humanity. A very little reflection, however, is sufficient to show that the persecuting tendencies of Christians did not spring from their faith in Christ, but from their want of faith in Him. They were the result of blind fanaticism, of egregious self-esteem, of a lust for power, of impatience of contradiction,—elements of human nature which display themselves in the most unmistakable fashion in all the writings of Messrs. Congreve, Brydges, Harrison and Beesley, with which we are acquainted.

The truth is, that the world which Positivism proposes to construct is as impossible from the nature of things as the Republic of Plato. Just as in that dream of the great Athenian, Positivists desire to effect “the solidarity” of mankind by a complete effacement of individual eccentricities. Their millennium is to commence so soon as everybody in the world practises, as well as professes, the doctrines of Auguste Comte. Now it so happens that in China we have a very good representation of a State according to the Positivist’s ideal, and for that State the leading Positivists in England have more than once expressed their admiration. The great lawgiver of the Chinese—Confucius—was in truth an Auguste Comte who lived and died six hundred years before the birth of Christ. Like him, he held the organization of an empire to be a worthier object of study than all hidden and abstracted lore; like him, he prized a human morality more than all doctrines respecting the divinity, and did actually anticipate some of the most modern propositions regarding the relations between governors and governed. Like Comte, too, the two great seminal ideas in his system were, the idea of *duty* and the idea of *humanity*. Man, he taught, “must conform himself to the great law of duty, and this great law of duty must be searched for in humanity, which is the principle of love for all men. This humanity is *man himself*: regard for relations is the first duty of it.” We are all aware how this system, with a bewildering minuteness of ceremony, strikingly similar in spirit and purpose to the *cultus* of Positivism, was adopted in China; how effectively it succeeded in extinguishing individualism and preventing erratic speculation, and how it remains in its integrity to this day. But it has carried with it absolute mental stagnation, which is now terminating in a

complete corruption of the body politic. This is inevitable. New truth must, in the first instance, dawn within some solitary mind, and then for the ruling powers there is but one of two courses open. They must either promptly extinguish the kindling spark, and with it blight all hopes of human progress. Or, they must permit it to spread, and with it all that follows from the jar and conflict of opposing minds—the building up of new systems, the severance of humanity into divers hostile sects, wars, persecutions, and the like calamities, to which Positivism proposes to put an end once and for ever.

The Positivist, and we may say Positivism, expect to get rid of this difficulty by casting theology overboard. This it is which has been at the root of all the ills that flesh is heir to, and the first step towards peace and order is to lay hold of this old serpent, which is the Devil, and chain him up for a thousand years, that he may deceive the nations no more. After that, what is required, our Positivist tells us, "is a doctrine which shall apply to the present and the immediate future, which shall regulate our *human* destinies." Positivism aspires to furnish such a doctrine, and one of its three grand axioms is, that considerations of a purely human character are alone "susceptible of legitimate and profitable discussion." The manner then in which Positivism proposes to set to work is, by a decree forbidding any further search after the absolute—or, to speak more intelligibly, after God—by simply ignoring, that is, the most active and deeply rooted instinct of humanity. This, in fact, is the glaring defect in the method of Positivism. Professing to base all its doctrines on the teachings of experience, it unhesitatingly declares that experience to be delusive when it passes the boundary it desires to impose upon it.

For how stands the matter with respect to this question of theology? In all ages and in all countries we find men searching for some absolute ground of existence, and everywhere the voices of the greatest and the best unite in affirming that search not to be a vain one—that God does reveal himself to the soul who seeks for Him. But not only do the greatest or the best bear this testimony. To all classes of men, high and low, wise and ignorant, this feeling of an invisible world, enwrapping them around, has been so awful and yet so ineradicable that they have fallen an easy prey to any man or men who professed to remove the veil. What shall we say then of a system which demands our attention on the score that it totally rejects the high *a priori* method, and yet at the very outset requires of us on *a priori* grounds to reject these reiterated experiences as delusive. Socrates, Plato, Paul, John, Augustine, Luther, Leighton, lived ages apart from one another—were as different in every respect from each other as beings of the same nature could be; but they all agreed in this, that an absolute Being

did reveal Himself to the minds of men as their Comforter, Friend and Guide. Their profound faith in this revelation was the mainstay of their entire lives ; and they were ready to, if need were—and many of them actually did—suffer death rather than abandon it. This, be it remembered, is not a question of scientific knowledge, but one simply of accurate self-examination—whether, in a matter where all men in all ages have been in possession of the same materials, Auguste Comte is likely to have seen and felt more clearly and more truly than the countless men and women whose prayers “have gone up to heaven out of all times and out of all lands as a sacred *miserere*, whose heroic actions also as a boundless everlasting psalm of triumph.” For our part, we are free to confess that in matters spiritual we prefer to accept the verdict of the Apostles Paul and John to that of Comte, and his followers, Messrs. Congreve, Beesley and Harrison.

No man in truth perceived the spiritual needs of humanity more clearly than Auguste Comte ; but the barriers of his philosophy effectively prevented him from tracing those desires up to their source. The extraordinary *cultus* attached to his philosophy is the acknowledgment of them,—an acknowledgment which carries with it, as seems to us, the condemnation of the whole scheme. Positivism deprives men of God, and then bids them to satisfy their spiritual needs by the worship of each other. It seeks to destroy theism, and to substitute in its stead a gigantic system of idolatry. We hardly think that for such a haven as this, men will be induced to abandon their faith in One who of his tender love toward mankind sent his Son Jesus Christ to overcome death and open unto us the gate of everlasting life.

It is then a treble indictment which we have to urge against Positivism. First, that it hopes to accomplish the perfection of mankind by the suppression of the individual, whereas the full and free development of individual life is the essential condition of all human progress and enlightenment. Second ; it seeks to attain uniformity of thought and action by excluding God from the range of human speculation, whereas all that is highest and best in the history of the race has been achieved in the endeavour to find, or under the conviction that there is, a God who has made of one blood all nations who dwell upon the face of the earth. Third ; in both these cardinal points Positivism runs counter to its own fundamental thesis, namely, that every proposition which it advances, is based upon the experiences of humanity as recorded in history.

But though we consider the pretensions of Positivism to be an adequate substitute for the gospel of Christ as utterly baseless and futile, we are not the less of opinion that these ‘thoughts’ may be read with advantage by any one interested in the present

great struggle. It pleases our author to speak of his opinions as Positivist in some special and exclusive sense, but this is a mannerism peculiar to his school. If Mr. Congreve came forward and repeated the multiplication table, we should expect him to add at the close,—“As a Positivist, I multiply in this manner; and it is common to all those who tread in the footsteps of the illustrious Comte.” Our Positivist is not free from this peculiarity, but if the reader excepts the frequent announcement “I am a Positivist,” and the words “proletariate” and “patriciate” where other writers would use “people” and “aristocracy,” there is nothing in the book which any thoughtful man with a love of freedom might not have written.

The Positivist is a strong Frenchman in his sympathies, and brings out very clearly the unscrupulous and grasping ambition of the Prussian Government, the combined fraud and violence of their conduct ever since the cruel and wicked assault upon Denmark. We think this passage very true, and forcibly put.

‘In estimating the conduct of France in regard to the present conflict, let us for a moment suppose that England had been the power ruling the territory which stretches from the Rhine to the shores of the Atlantic. How would that power which views with anger and suspicion the far-off advance of the Russian legions across the steppes of Central Asia, and which protests in no measured terms when France endeavours to occupy some miserable island in the Red Sea, have comported itself in the presence of a State which was engaged in continual intrigues and in the most unscrupulous self-aggrandizement upon its very frontiers? How would England have acted, when a power which she knew to be hostile was fortifying strongholds and organizing immense armies at her very gates, when every minor state which might interpose between her and her rival was practically annihilated? * * I am convinced that long ere this, had England been in the position of France, war and nothing but war would have satisfied her; that the whole nation would have insisted upon the paramount necessity of putting an end by force to the violent and cruel policy which endangered its own safety, while it thoroughly perverted the public conscience of the nation which had adopted it.’

Perhaps the weakest parts of this little book are those passages which the writer quotes from the better known writers of his school. We have seldom read anything more absurd than the following from Mr. Harrison’s essay on *England and France*. The writer undertakes to define the conditions under which war would be permissible even to a nation of Positivists.

“To save” he says, “a valuable element of the race from annihilation; to preserve a living organ of our civilization from destruction; to remove a cancer from political society—may yet become a just cause of war. * * It must be a war, in which all the sacrifices and none

"of the gains fall to the authors; it must be a war strictly defensive—to defend not a wrong, but a right; to rescue some weak victim from a manifest oppressor. * * It must be a war of which the necessity is inevitable, the issue certain, and the good results immensely preponderating."

With these conditions strictly observed, Mr. Harrison professes to believe that war would virtually be at an end.

In a teacher affecting to give practical advice on the conduct of politics, this strikes us as the most remarkable thing we ever read. We wish the Positivist had accompanied it with an explanatory commentary. We should so much like to know to what social condition it would be applicable. What is the precise *degree* of value, which entitles the possessor to be considered "a valuable element of the race?" Who is to apply such a test when ascertained? What constitutes a cancer in political society? Is the Pope of Rome one, and who is to be the final judge whether he is or not? A war is generally supposed to be a contest for supremacy between two parties, inevitably productive of bloodshed and misery to both combatants; but Mr. Harrison appears to be possessed by a notion that war—if it be a just one—may be carried on under the conditions of a massacre and *all* the sacrifices made to fall upon the people who are in the wrong. The last paragraph completes our bewilderment. "A war of which the necessity is inevitable and the issue certain." Well, all wars are inevitable so soon as the passions of opposing nations are kindled to fighting point. On this point, therefore, the great Positivist gives us very little help. But "a war the issue of which is certain." As the issue of war can never by any possibility be predicted with certainty, this condition, if obeyed, would certainly put an end to all fighting, but in that case what would become of the political cancers? They, we suppose, would be permitted to flourish, and destroy at their will "valuable elements of the race," and living organs of our civilization. Certainly after reading such a passage, we cannot wonder at the complaint of the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, of whom the Positivist makes mention. "The morality," says the critic, "to which these writers would subject the international relations of mankind is spurious and fantastical. Their knowledge of history is superficial and distorted; and their schemes for the regeneration of political society are governed by sentimental predilections paradoxical even to absurdity."

R. D. OSBORN.

ANCIENT PAGAN AND MODERN CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM *exposed and explained.* By Thomas Inman, M.D., (London,) Physician to the Royal Infirmary, Liverpool, &c. &c. &c. Printed for the Author. 1869.

THIS little book is explained by the author to be a sort of epitome of a larger work which we have not seen, entitled

Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names. It consists of a series of plates, with explanatory remarks, prefaced by an Introduction, in which the writer, after apologising for venturing to enquire into the meaning of symbols at all, somewhat vaguely enunciates the proposition that the symbolism of all religions, Christianity included, is constructed on one and the same basis, and that of the most gross and indelicate description.

That comparative symbolism must occupy an important chapter in the history of religions, analogous to the position occupied by comparative philology in the study of ethnology, is, we think, true; and every honest endeavour to throw light on so abstruse a subject must be right welcome to a thinking and enquiring mind. But it is very desirable that those who venture to treat of such topics, should make use of language as clear and precise as possible. There ought to be no doubt whatever of such an author's meaning. His positions and arguments ought to be set forth with mathematical exactness.

This is not the case in the book before us. Dr. Inman is far from being either clear or precise. He writes vaguely of "allegations and accusations against the doctrines of Christianity," of "the current Heathendom which has assumed the garb of Christianity," of "the heathen elements in the Christian religion;" but we never seem to be brought face to face with these 'allegations' or 'heathen elements,' or are even told what they are. The author, doubtless, labours under a disadvantage in being judged by a work which is confessedly but a mere epitome of his more elaborate argument, but the charge of vagueness is not made without due consideration, and on a subject like this such a charge is unpardonable.

If Dr. Inman means no more than that Christianity has borrowed certain symbols from heathendom, of undoubtedly impure origin, few persons probably will be found to differ from him. It is nearly forty centuries since the Israelites spoiled the Egyptians, and a similar process of spoliation has been going on from time to time ever since. Every new creed takes something over from its predecessor; its adaptability to do this is often a mark of its vitality. And if a symbol is beautiful and appeals to the æsthetic sense, it is after all of no great importance how gross and material may have been its origin. If Dr. Inman is to be trusted, however, we ought to abolish every ornament of any kind in our churches; and even, if we worshipped in an empty oblong barn, he would somehow or other discover that we were ignorantly doing homage to the Three *plus* One—nay, he might possibly find that the barn had a door, with perhaps a key-hole in it.

But we must give Dr. Inman credit for meaning more than this, though it is a pity it is not more definitely expressed. One of

his positions would seem to be that the worship of the Virgin Mary in Roman Catholic countries is closely allied to the *cultus* of pagan goddesses; and we think he is probably correct in tracing, as he does, many of those external emblems on which ritualists lay such stress, such as the mitre, the alb and the chasuble, to a former use in the worship of Venus and the adoration of woman. But there are other symbols, in regard to which Dr. Inman's opinions seem to be veiled in mystery. If Dr. Inman, for instance, means to insinuate that the Christian reverence for the cross is derived from or founded on a pagan symbolism, we have no hesitation whatever in saying that Dr. Inman is wrong. The Christian reverence for the cross simply rests on the historical fact that Christ suffered death by crucifixion—a fact which is as capable of historical proof as that Charles I was beheaded or that Napoleon was banished to St. Helena. Crucifixion, we know, was one of the most degraded forms of Roman punishment; but Dr. Inman adduces no evidence to show that the cause of this was in any way connected with phallic symbolism. The two plates on pp. 42, 43 (figs. 90 and 92), are admittedly not authenticated, and ought not therefore to have appeared in the book at all. Their admission implies a bias in the mind of the writer which is not consistent with scientific impartiality.

We fully grant that there is much in this book that is interesting and instructive; there is also much that is, to say the least, far-fetched. So long as Euclid's axiom remains true, that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, so long will it be possible to reduce every form to a unit or triad, or a combination of both. There are very few things in the world, in fact, to which, on Dr. Inman's principles, an indelicate significance could not be made to attach. But such a pursuit, however simple it may be, is not edifying. When a man gets into the habit of regarding everything he sees from a phallic point of view, he deprives himself of much pure pleasure, and does his best to degrade his soul to the level of the beasts that perish.

A HANDBOOK OF HINDU MYTHOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY, *with some Biographical Notices*. By Rev. W. Munro Taylor. Second Edition. Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1870.

A REALLY good Classical Dictionary for India is a great desideratum, and such a work, if well executed, ought to command a ready sale. It is said that the subject has already engaged the attention of Mr. Garrett, the Director of Public Instruction in Mysore. Mr. Garrett's qualifications for the task are unknown to us, but there can be no doubt that his official position must afford him facilities and opportunities which are not accessible to all.

Meanwhile we are glad to see a second edition of the little book now before us, which, in the absence of a more complete work on the subject, we can safely recommend as a useful manual of reference. Not that the book is faultless; though, so far as a cursory inspection has enabled us to judge, the information it contains appears to be generally accurate. We are unable, however, to subscribe to all the author's quaint notions in regard to the connection between Hindu and Hebraic mythology. Whether Cain married his sister or his niece, is of very little importance, and Hindu mythology can never afford satisfactory proof on the point. Lamech may be "the same as *Casyapa*," and it is quite "possible that a daughter of Shem (grand-daughter of Vaivasvata or Noah) married Cush, the son of Ham, and apostatized from the religion of her ancestors"; but such speculations hardly find their proper place in what is intended to be a small handbook of *fact*, especially considering that much useful information, as it is said, has had to be omitted for want of space. The tabular view appended to the chronological note (p. xiv) is, as it stands, wholly unintelligible, and should be more fully explained in the next edition. We should also recommend the publisher to omit the preface to the first edition, which is simple twaddle, and to adopt a more scientific system of spelling. The indiscriminate use of 'c' and 'k' to express the Sanskrit soft guttural is particularly uncouth and confusing. *Curucshetram* (sic), for instance, is explained as "the place of the *Curus*;" but for this latter word we are referred to *Kauras*. The use of 'c' in such words has long been abolished by universal consent, and Messrs. Higginbotham would do well to acquiesce in this decision.

The *Handbook* consists of 150 pp. only, and as its price is fixed within the compass of the slenderest purse, we trust that its enterprising publishers will not be allowed to suffer by the speculation.

INDIAN BALLADS AND OTHER POEMS; By William Waterfield.
London: Smith Elder & Co. 1868.

THE prime defect of the English character is an overwhelming preponderance of what they term their "practical tendencies." It is on the score of these practical tendencies that we deem ourselves superior to such benighted nations as the French, Italians, Spanish and others, who cannot discover their *summum bonum* in the accumulation of money and unlimited freedom of competition. It is, moreover, these practical tendencies, and the pride which he takes in them, which have made the Englishman so perfectly obnoxious to all kingdoms and people under the sun. This also the Englishman interprets as a testimony to his superior merit—the result of hopeless envy, and accepts with a complacent consciousness of being thoroughly

entitled to it. It is, lastly, in virtue of his eminently practical turn of mind that the Englishman believes himself to be working out the regeneration of India.

Except in his own estimation, however, there is hardly a human being so potent for mischief, and so utterly good for nothing as your "practical man." In society he passes among his friends like the hot wind of the desert, and all grace and wit, humour, poetry, beauty and elegance—things like the flowers of the earth, of no practical value—wither away at his approach. In politics the practical man considers the civilization of a country can be affected exclusively by roads, railways and large public works, quite independently of the souls of men. Had England been inhabited by practical men only, she would long ago have degenerated into a nation of money-getters, incapable of one lofty thought or one heroic action.

No man, of course, is solely and purely a practical man. He has his weaknesses, and occasional deviations from the straight onward road. But in this country the practical man is almost all-powerful, and there is no fact in the world more certain than this, that we are not achieving the regeneration of this country—if by regeneration we mean, to develop the latent powers of the mind and inform it with new and loftier principles of conduct. No one in the least acquainted with the past history of India, can doubt that our rule has a precisely opposite effect. This country did in times past produce soldiers and statesmen in abundance, but she cannot produce them now. Wherever we penetrate, the powers of her children seem to droop and die, and all gradations of intellect to sink to a dead level of mediocrity. We give them no opportunity of distinction and afford them no examples of greatness, but with the spectacle of a continent perishing as it were by slow inward decay before our eyes, we enshroud ourselves in self-conceit, and declare we are achieving a mighty work in the land.

This insensibility springs directly from that absence of culture which as practical men we presume to undervalue. We cannot place ourselves *en rapport* with the people we pretend to guide and educate, because hard and mechanical views of life have killed the imagination and blighted the finer and unselfish parts of our nature. ~~We obstinately persist in believing that the Asiatic can live by bread alone, and be made into a new man exclusively through the~~ help of railways, electric telegraphs, and other external applications, forgetting or being unaware that these things alone cannot nourish national life or greatness of character. Deprive England of her historic past, and all the wealth in the world could not make the human beings settled upon her shores into a great and progressive nation. The soul of man needs a diet of its own—needs it most of all in countries such as India, where the past has no longer

any organic connection with the present and the future. And those men only will feel this keenly who make intellectual pursuits the main business of their lives, and understand the old prophetic assertion that the soul of a man—the energies and capacities, that is, which reside within him—is more precious than the golden wedge of Ophir.

Placing then this extreme value upon culture as an essential element in the education of those who would govern aright, it is our duty, as well as our pleasure, to welcome with delight any manifestation of it among the members of the Indian Civil Service. On this account we take shame to ourselves that Mr. Waterfield's Indian Ballads have never received in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* that recognition which their merits deserve.

The volume bears everywhere the impress of a cultivated mind, and one also peculiarly open to the tender and the beautiful in man or nature. The poems fall under three heads—Indian Ballads, Miscellaneous Ballads, and Album Verses. Those in the first division are the best as well as the most important, and to these we shall confine our observations. Goethe has remarked that "what remains of the poet, when translated into prose, is the pure perfect substance." The truth of this dictum is questionable, and certain it is that there is a fascination in the effort to represent the thoughts of a foreign poet in a verse translation which no student of literature can altogether escape. Almost every Oriental scholar has endeavoured to re-embodify in an English form the spirit of the Eastern Muse. In the case of Sanskrit poems, we hold that the method pursued by Mr. Griffith of Benares, and, as a general rule, by Mr. Waterfield, is the true one—not to follow too closely the words of the original, but to attempt to transfuse into the English version whatever in the foreign poems is distinctively "human catholic." The difficulty of Anglicising Sanskrit poetry may be easily illustrated by a reference to Mr. Waterfield's ballads. At page 57, we find a translation of *The Lamentation of Aja* from the *Raghuvansa*. We have taken the trouble to compare this with the original, and we can safely assert that it is both a faithful and an elegant translation. And yet we cannot doubt that few Englishmen would appreciate the tenderness of feeling which is expressed in the allusion to the chakravaka, and the koil or Indian cuckoo, in these two stanzas :—

"The chakravaka soon
Rejoins his mate ; the moon
Brings joy once more to night :
These wait and trust, but I
Look vainly to the sky,

Which mocks my hopes with winds that wave thy ringlets light.

"Thy voice the coils show,
 Thy timid glance the doe,
 To lighten my distress ;
 The swans thy stately pace,
 The wind-waved boughs thy grace ;

But these are not my love, and I am comfortless."

The reason of this is obvious enough. The chakravaka and the koil excite no emotion in the mind of an English reader. There are no associations of beauty or delight which cling to the unfamiliar sounds. All poetry which has any local colouring must of necessity lose in force when it appeals to those who have never known or experienced those local peculiarities. The following stanzas from one of Wordsworth's poems will serve to show the imaginative splendour which may be drawn from the commonest natural objects when they are familiar to us.

"She shall be sportive as the fawn,
 That wild with glee across the lawn
 Or up the mountain springs ;
 And her's shall be the breathing balm,
 And her's the silence and the calm,
 Of mute insensate things.

"The stars of midnight shall be dear
 To her ; and she shall lean her ear
 In many a secret place ;
 Where rivulets dance their wayward round,
 And beauty born of murmuring sound
 Shall pass into her face."

That Mr. Waterfield does not lack the power to transpose into his verse the spirit of their originals, will be apparent to any one who compares his translation from Goeth (p. 229) with the German—an imitation, perhaps unconsciously, of Alcman's beautiful fragment. We place the German and Mr. Waterfield's version side by side.

Ueber allen Griefeln
 Ist Ruh,
 In allen Wipfeln
 Spürest du.
 Kaum einen Hauch ;
 Die Vögelein schweigen in
 Walde,
 Warte nur, balde
 Ruhest du auch.

On every mountain brow
 Is rest ;
 Scarce on the woodland crest
 Hearest thou
 Faint whispering ;
 The birds are all hushed on
 the tree,
 Wait ; time will bring
 Rest even for thee.

No one could wish for a more exact version than this, and yet the English lines are perfectly natural and easy, and free from all odour of the lamp. It is curious to observe the resemblance

between the Greek and the German poet. In the former, the modern introspective element, the conception of the subtle sympathy between man and nature is altogether wanting. But the exterior colouring of the picture is the same in both cases.

Mr. Waterfield, however, as we have already remarked, has produced Indian ballads rather than translations, and as such they should be judged. Their prevailing characteristics, are an extreme sweetness and ease of versification, combined with a keen and delicate eye for the beauties of nature. Their defect is an absence of fire and passion, which comes out in such poems as "*Rukmini*," where the verse runs with too quiet and tranquil a flow properly to depict the tumult of hope and fear, desire and despair, which might be supposed to agitate the heroine. The wild legend of the churning of the ocean is very effectively rendered. The story of the Symantak jewel comes from the *Vishnu Purana*. It is, as Mr. Waterfield remarks, particularly interesting, as exhibiting Krishna not as a god but as a mere mortal hero. Indeed he seems to have held among the *Yádavas* the position of a constitutional monarch, controlled by checks rude but effective.

The *Moral of History* is another fine ballad, finer, we suspect, in Mr. Waterfield's version than in the original. The gem, however, of the collection, at least in our judgment, is the *Song of Kalindi*, a very sweet and at the same time spirited poem, with some verses from which we will bring our notice to a conclusion :—

"The fresh wind blows from northern snows ;
 The nights are dank with dew ;
 A mound of fire the Simal glows ;
 The young rice shoots anew ;
 In morning's cool from reedy pool
 Up springs the whistling crane ;
 The wild fowl fly through sunset sky ;
 The sweet juice fills the cane.
 Come, Krishna ! from the tyrant proud
 How long shall virtue flee ?
 The lightning loves the evening cloud,
 And I love thee !

"Low from the brink the waters shrink ;
 The deer all snuff for rain ;
 The panting cattle search for drink
 Cracked glebe and dusty plain ;
 The whirlwind, like a furnace blast,
 Sweeps clouds of darkening sand ;
 The forest flames ; the beasts aghast
 Plunge huddling from the land.

Come, Krishna ! come, beloved one !

Descend and comfort me :

The lotus loves the summer sun,

And I love thee.

“ The skies are bright with cloudlets light,

Like silver shells that float ;

The stars and moon loom large by night ;

The lilies launch their boat ;

Fair laughs the plain with ripened grain ;

With birds resounds the brake :

Along the sand white egrets stand ;

The wild fowl fill the lake.

Come, Krishna ! let thy servants soon

Thy perfect beauty see :

The water lily loves the moon,

And I love thee.

“ The morning mist lies close and still ;

The hoarfrost gems the lea ;

The dew falls chill ; the wind blows shrill ;

The leaves have left the tree ;

The crops are gone ; the fields are bare ;

The deer pass grazing by ;

And plaintive through the twilight air

Is heard the curlew's cry.

Come Krishna ! come my lord, my own !

From prison set me free :

The chakravaki pines, alone,

As I for thee.”

We would gladly, had we space, have criticised these poems at greater length. Both the miscellaneous ballads, and the Album verses are marked by passages full of a certain sweet and pensive grace or of delicate delineation of natural scenery which richly rewards the labour of perusal. But the great service which books of this character perform for the thoughtful reader, is to bring before him the poetic and imaginative side of the Indian character, without some understanding of which it is absurd to suppose that we can ever rear up a civilization in the country which, when our support is withdrawn, will continue to grow by its own inherent vitality. Mr. Waterfield is at present the holder of an appointment of great trust, but we earnestly hope that his official duties have not alienated him from the service of the muse. The years that bring the philosophic mind, could hardly fail to add to his verse also a deeper tone of thought and greater robustness of expression. Mr. Waterfield's verse, at present, flows along with almost too even a movement ; and these elements, like rocks in the bed of a running

brook, would serve to break up and diversify the current of the melody. Should he ever appear again as an author, we can at least assure him of a cordial welcome from the *Calcutta Review*.

THE GAZETTEER OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA. Edited by Charles Grant, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. Second Edition. Nágpur. 1870.

WE have received a copy of the *Central Provinces Gazetteer* edited by Charles Grant, of the Bengal Civil Service, at the time when he was Secretary to the Chief Commissioner. It is the foremost of that series of Gazetteers which are to illumine the depths and dark interiors of our least known districts, to disinter the stores of valuable information which now lie buried in strata of official records, and to arrange, sift, expand or condense, all this raw material for convenient use. Finally, these rough-hewn Gazetteers are themselves to be shaped off and melted down into an Imperial Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary, for all India.

It is known, we believe, that the idea of these Gazetteers originally germinated at Nagpur, where a first edition of the work which we are now noticing, was produced in 1867 under the auspices of Sir Richard Temple. The present volume is, then, a second edition, improved and enlarged to an extent that can be measured only by those who have seen the first; the contents have been arranged alphabetically for the whole book, and have been copiously indexed, while from the editor's own hand we have a preface and a very complete introduction. To this introduction our present notice must be confined, though we hope before long to be able to review the whole work; but Mr. Grant's sketch contains so comprehensive and so masterly a survey of the whole area traversed, or mapped out in detail, by the writers for each district, that we have no difficulty in dealing with his article separately and exclusively. In fact, the introduction is itself just such a review of the Gazetteer as might be written by an able man thoroughly conversant with every department of the subject to be handled. And the practice of prefixing to the main edifice a porch of this kind is much to be approved, both for ornament and utility. A Gazetteer is (or should be) meant to serve two classes of readers, those who desire to obtain some general knowledge and thoroughly trustworthy information regarding the country, and those who take it as a book of occasional reference or a travelling guide. The first class will go no further than the porch. For them Mr. Grant has restored the continuity of narrative and compendious synopsis of what is known on any topic, which have been unavoidably broken up and scattered throughout the main body of the work by the exigencies of district limits. For them he

takes his stand, as it were, upon an exceeding high mountain whence he can show them all his nineteen provinces, and the glory thereof. And we are bound to say that Mr. Grant's porch is built in excellent style. He had an immense variety of tolerably familiar subjects to touch upon, with space at his discretion ; so in these days of fine writing and of mammoth reports, which only an antediluvian can read through, it is a pleasure to come upon an official person whose concise artistic language, tinged here and there only with picturesque colour, indicates that the writer is plainly keeping within his powers, both as to the substance and style of his composition.

The introduction itself occupies 157 pages. The scenery and physical geography of this vast territory are described in their leading features ; to many dwellers in Bengal it may be news that the whole country is characterized by rapid and constant variety of form and level, by alternate contrasts of hill and valley, wood and river, cultivation and natural vegetation. Here is a bit of description which may refresh and inspirit the untravelled Anglo-Indian who believes that India is one illimitable dusty plain, dotted by white bungalows and tombstones.

'In the pleasant winter months the eye may range over miles of green corn land, only broken by black ridges or dark twisting footpaths. The horizon is bounded here and there by hill ranges, which seem to rise abruptly from the plain, but on coming nearer to them, the heavy green of their slopes is found to be divided from the softer hues of the young wheat by broad belts of gravelly soil—here carpeted with short sward and studded with noble trees—there uncovered and contrasting their brown red tints with the deep black of the valley lands. The epithet which occurs to every English describer in writing of these border lands is "park-like." (Introd., pp. xvii-xviii.)

The geology of the provinces is sketched by the Superintendent of the Geological Survey.

Mr. Grant devotes many pages to the early history of these wild barbarian regions ; and as no one really knows anything about what happened before the 18th century in Gondwarra, in the Upper Nerbudda valley, or in the remote inaccessible districts to the far east and south-east of Nagpur, we may be thankful to the editor for using mercifully so magnificent an opportunity for setting up and pulling down kingdoms and ordering the course of events. "All that can be really ascertained," says Mr. Grant, "is, that in the fifth century a race of foreign (Yavana) origin ruled from the Sâtpûra plateau, and that between the tenth and thirteenth centuries the country round Jabalpûr was governed by princes of one of the most distinguished lunar Rajput races, while a territory south of the Sâtpûras was held by the fire-descended Pramâra princes of Mâlwa."

(p. lviii.) However, we learn also that the well-known Hai Hai Bansi dynasty was established in the 2nd century A.D. about Chat-tisgurrh and the sources of the Nerbudda; and that the Chanda dynasty of Gonds probably rose to power as early as the tenth or eleventh century. (p. lviii.) It cannot be denied, although Mr. Grant's modesty may compel him to make light of such feats, that these are notable contributions to our knowledge of pre-historic times. The scantiness of the materials at his disposal makes the result only more admirable.

Since Dr. W. W. Hunter first uplifted his voice as the *vates sacer* of the despised non-Aryan, perhaps nothing more interesting or curious has been written on this now fashionable topic than Mr. Grant's account of the rise and fall of the Gond and Gauli dynasties within the period of 'history proper' (that is, from the 16th century), and his description of the various aboriginal tribes which still, as distinct races, inhabit these provinces. For particulars we must refer inquirers to the work itself, but the valuable ethnological researches therein recorded have clearly been made just in time. "Civilization," observes Mr. Grant, "is the most fatal of all influences to the semi-savage." In a few years all his aboriginal beliefs and customs, his tribal organization, his wandering habits, and other characteristics of a remote social stage, which have been fortuitously preserved for us by the hermetical sealing of these land-locked regions until the fulness of our own time—all these things will have dissolved and faded away like the baseless fabric of a dream. The rapid and unprecedented development, illumination, and material improvement of the Central Provinces which are set forth throughout Mr. Grant's last chapter, in terms which carefully avoid all exaggeration or self-complacent administrative triumph, are just the causes and influences before which the whole old order of society must change and give way. No one, of course, will regret these changes, but we must all be glad that the last glimpse of things that we shall never see again, has been accorded to men who could see, appreciate, and describe. And towards the close of his Introduction, Mr. Grant emerges from the dim penumbra, through which we have been hazily following his guidance, and admiring the lines of aboriginal princes who pass before us like Banquo's posterity. He shakes off the dust of ages, shuts up his ethnical microscope, lays aside his most able and amusing analysis of non-Aryan creeds and customs, and at one stride lands us in the 19th century under Sir R. Temple's administration. Those who have been really so embittered by the smart of an injudicious income-tax as to believe that the author of their woe must have been incompetent and disingenuous in all his ways, should read Mr. Grant's description of the present state of the Central Provinces, and of the measures which have brought it up to its actual form. So many men fail, even in Indian professions,

that critics on administration are as plentiful here as they are in England on literature and art. But hard energetic work must leave its marks, and these marks cannot be rubbed out by adverse assertion. These provinces, observes Mr. Grant, were comparatively unknown and unexplored, until "in 1861 this central tract of highland and valley, with its unknown history, its unsuspected resources, and its strange world of wild tribes, became a separate division of British India" under a Chief Commissioner.

Certainly no executive reform of territorial jurisdiction was ever better timed than this constitution of the Central Provinces by Lord Canning; for though they are essentially diverse in all physical and national characteristics, the whole country was then alike in one respect, that it urgently needed a strong central Government. It did get this need supplied, and just at an epoch when, as Mr. Grant writes, the Provinces came under the influence of stimulating agencies which would have "disturbed the sleep of barbarism itself." For the men who have steered and served in the administration during the decade which has now almost passed since that day, it is only contended that they knew how to take advantage of the situation. And the concluding passages of this introduction contrasting now with then, the old lamps with the new, antique torpidity with modern stir, former darkness and stagnation with the recent "rush of light and air," high and steady prices with alternate famines and surfeits of grain, contented and comatose ignorance with the excitements of education—form a really eloquent peroration to a remarkably vigorous and well written State paper.

MEMOIR OF DWARKANATH TAGORE. By Kissory Chand Mittra. Originally read at the 27th Hare Anniversary Meeting, held at the Town Hall on the 1st June 1870. Revised and Enlarged. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870.

KISSORY Chand Mittra has done good service to his country by the memoirs which he has published from time to time (some of them in this *Review*) of the more prominent members of Bengal society during the past few years. The last half-century has witnessed extraordinary progress in Bengal, and history demands that the exertions of the men to whom the present state of things is due, and the part which each took in bringing it about, shall be faithfully chronicled for the edification of future ages. And our chronicler is by no means unequal to the task before him. His labour is obviously a labour of love. Himself belonging to the most advanced section of Hindu society, and gifted with a marvellous command of the English language, he is well able to depict in glowing colours the obligations which the present generation lie under to those early pioneers in the

cause of enlightenment and progress. Indeed, if they have a fault, it is that his portraits are sometimes overdrawn. His memoirs here and there (particularly in the description of Dwarkanath's first voyage to England) smack of the Boswellian flavour. Their subjects are all heroes, though of course heroes of the Bengali type.

And Dwarkanath Tagore *was* a hero in a sense, as every man is who stands in the van of his countrymen, encouraging progress and liberality of thought, and struggling to set his nation free from the trammels which enthrall it. Such men's lives deserve to be handed down to posterity as those who have done good in their generation—men who have not wasted the talents or thrown away the opportunities God has given them, but who have always been ready to help onward to the best of their ability the advancing civilization of the age. Dwarkanath Tagore's wealth and social position enabled him to do much for his countrymen which it is not in the power of every man to effect; and it redounds greatly to his honour that he made such excellent use of the advantages which he possessed. "To whom much is given, of them shall much be required again." But on the other hand we must not lose sight of the fact that in periods of social revolution such as is now going on in Bengal, the pioneers of reform have often nothing to win and everything to lose. **Ramachun Roy**, for instance, staked his all, and may be said to have lost, for it is pretty certain that he was not fully appreciated by his countrymen until some years after his death. Dwarkanath Tagore was more fortunate, inasmuch as he lived in a later and more enlightened day. But it is at least singular that these two men, whose names are perhaps the greatest in modern Bengal history, should be destined to leave their bones in that country, the worth of whose civilization they had both learnt to value and respect. It may be a fanciful conceit altogether on our part, but do not these men, sacrificing their lives for what was to them their life's object, dimly shadow forth to us its ultimate fulfilment—the more complete fusion of the two races in morals, in religion, in civilization, whether in India or in England, in life or in death?

We have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following books:—

GAZETTEER FOR THE HAIDERABAD ASSIGNED DISTRICTS, COMMONLY CALLED BERAR. 1870. Edited by A. C. Lyall, Commissioner of West Berár. Bombay: 1870.

THE HINDU LAW: *being a treatise on the law administered exclusively to Hindus by the British Courts in India.* Tagore

Law Lectures—1870. By Herbert Cowell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law and Tagore Law Professor. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870.

[We hope to be able to present our readers with a complete notice of these two important works in an early issue.]

THE RAJAS OF THE PANJAB, *being the history of the principal States in the Panjab, and their political relations with the British Government.* By Lepel H. Griffin, B.C.S., Under-Secretary to the Government of the Panjab; Author of "the Panjab Chiefs;" "the Law of Inheritance to Chiefships." Lahore. 1870.

[We have also been promised a full critique of this work for an early number.]

THE RAMAYAN OF VALMIKI, *translated into English verse.* By Ralph T. H. Griffith, M.A., Principal of Benares College, Vol. II. London : Trübner & Co. Benares : E. J. Lazarus & Co. 1871.

[The present volume contains a continuation of Book II of the *Rāmāyan.*]

The Indian Annals of Medical Science. No. xxvii. Calcutta. Barham, Hill, & Co., 1870.

The Calcutta Journal of Medicine. Vol. III., January to June 1870. Calcutta. 1870.

~~We have also to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the~~
following Government publications:—

Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India with Foreign Countries, and of the coasting Trade between the several Presidencies, in the year ending 31st March 1869; together with Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the Foreign Trade of British India from various periods to 1868-69. Calcutta : Office of Superintendent of Government Printing : 1870.

Report of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal. Meteorological Abstract for the year 1869. By Henry F. Blanford, Meteorological Reporter. Calcutta : 1870.

Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, for the year 1869-70; with four Appendices. By David B. Smith, M.D., Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, Calcutta : 1870. [We are glad to observe that this report has been much condensed this year.]

General Report on the Lunatic Asylums, Vaccination, and Dispensaries in the Bengal Presidency, 1868. Compiled by Surgeon-Major J. T. C. Ross, F.R.C.S., Secretary to the Inspector-General of Hospitals, Indian Medical Department, Calcutta. Office of Superintendent of Government Printing : 1870.

Ditto ditto, No. 2, for 1869; with Appendices and a Map.

[We would draw special attention to these Appendices. The first is a report on Inoculation as it at present exists in the Presidency of Bengal,—a report which cannot fail to be of great value and interest

in connection with Dr. Charles's proposal to regulate Inoculation where it cannot be suppressed. The second appendix is a masterly report on the medico-legal returns received from the Civil Surgeons in the Bengal Presidency during the year 1868 and 1869, by Assistant-Surgeon K. McLeod, M.D., Bengal Army. The subject matter of this report has already been fully treated in the foregoing pages, and it only remains, therefore, to say that we entirely concur with the Inspector-General of Hospitals, that, "great credit is due to Dr. McLeod for the labour, thought and intelligence he has brought to bear upon the subject." The third appendix is a medical and sanitary report on the Settlement of Port Blair, Andamans, for the year 1869, by Surgeon W.H. Rean, M.D., Madras Army.

Report on the Administration of the Customs Department in the Bengal Presidency, for the year 1869-70. Calcutta: 1870.

Report on the Revenue Survey Operations of the Lower Provinces, from 1st October 1868 to 30th September 1869. Calcutta: 1870.

Progress Report of Forest Administration in Bengal for the year 1869-70. Calcutta: 1870.

Report on Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1869-70, by Captain W. R. M. Holroyd, B.S.C., Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. Lahore: 1870.

Report on the Sanitary Administration of the Panjab, 1869. By A. C. C. De Renzy, Sanitary Commissioner. Lahore: 1870.

Statement showing estimated extent of Cotton Cultivation in the Panjab during the season of 186-970.

Report on the working of the Income Tax Acts IX of 1869, and XXIII of 1869 in the Panjab, for the year 1869-70.

Selections from the Records of the Government of the Panjab and its Dependencies. New Series. No. VIII. *Administration Reports of the Chumba and Bhawalpore States* for 1869. Lahore: 1870.

Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Panjab and its Dependencies during the year 1869. Lahore: 1870.

Report of the Officiating Inspector-General of Dispensaries, Panjab, for 1869. By R. Gray, Esq. Lahore: 1870.

Annual Report on Vaccine Operations in the Panjab for the year 1869. By A. M. Garden, M.D., Superintendent-General of Vaccination, Panjab. Lahore: 1870.

Report of the Officiating Inspector-General of Prisons, Panjab, for 1869. By R. Gray, Esq. Lahore, 1870.

Report on the administration of the Registration Department, Panjab, for the year 1869-70.

Report on the Famine in the Panjab during 1869-70. By Lepel Griffin, Esq., Secretary, Central Relief Committee, Panjab. Lahore: 1870.

Report on the Administration of the Panjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1869-70. Lahore: 1870.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

"THE LAND OF CHARITY"—*A descriptive account of Travancore and its people, with especial reference to Missionary labour.*

By the Rev. SAMUEL MATEER, F.L.S., of the London Missionary Society. London: John Snow & Co. 1871.

THERE is probably no body of men to whom Anglo-Indian literature is more indebted than to Christian missionaries. Some of the best works on the manners, customs and languages of the natives have emanated from their quiet studies. Ward, Marshman, the Abbé Dubois, Caldwell, and others amongst their number, are standard authorities in every Indian library. The writings of such men have a peculiar value from the circumstance that, in what Mr. Mateer calls their 'vernacular labours,' they are brought into close contact with the people of the country, and thus have special opportunities for observing whatever is remarkable in their social and domestic habits.

The book before us is one of this class. We object to its title, which is evidently intended to be effective, but which is unfortunately as inaccurate as it is unmeaning. *Dharmma Bhumi* does not mean the land of *charity*—a word peculiar to Christianity, and only so far applicable to Travancore as that country has been the scene of the most self-denying exertions of Christian missionaries. The term *dharmma* may be translated *piety*, but it is a piety which we are apt to regard as synonymous with bigotry, priestcraft and superstition. 'The Land of Charity,' however, is altogether a misnomer; Travancore will only be rightly so denominated when the people have cast aside Brahmanism and devil-worship, and embraced the 'new commandment' of Christ, and learned to attain the 'more excellent way.' Mr. Mateer, however, has written a most interesting book, and we have much pleasure in recommending it to the attention of our readers. It is a sad fact, but no less true, that we here in Bengal know very little about the south of India. Mr. Mateer's book will supply the defect as far as one little State is concerned. A perusal of its 370 pages will afford the reader a very good general idea of Travancore, its natural and political history, and the manners, customs and religions of its inhabitants.

The poetic appellation of *Dharmma Bhumi* bestowed on Travancore by the Brahman priests, is not altogether inappropriate even at the present day. Though not quite as large as Wales, the country offers perhaps as great a variety of forms

of religion as any in the world — all of them, moreover, of a striking type. Like the men of Athens of old, the people of Travancore would seem to be in all things very superstitious. The State religion is the worship of Vishnu under the name of Patmanábhan, and absorbs no less than one-fifth of the revenue of the country. But more prevalent, perhaps, among the lower orders of the people, is that curious system of devil-worship which we find in Southern India and Ceylon, and which is the most marked form of that timid superstition which is satisfied with the propitiation of whatever is thought capable of doing the worshipper harm. Intercourse with the Red Sea and Arabia, again, has introduced small colonies of Musalman Lubbays, who seem to be very similar in many respects to the Muhammadans of Chittagong. And, owing their origin probably to the same cause, nestling among rival religions of the most incongruous types, yet suffering less persecution from the heathen than from a Church which calls itself both Christian and Catholic, lie those interesting communities of Syrian Christians, which are by some supposed to date from the age of the apostle St. Thomas. Lastly, Travancore is one of those few places in which the labours of Christian missionaries have met with almost a miraculous success. The Protestant communities are already said to number 44,000 souls, a figure in excess of the whole number of Brahmans as ascertained at the census of 1854.

Mr. Mateer confines the history of the London Mission in Travancore to the last hundred pages of his book, and the narrative is mainly interesting for the details it gives of the persecutions to which the Christian people have from time to time been exposed at the hands of the heathen. Such persecutions are as old as the time of St. Paul, and there is nothing to surprise us in their occurrence in India, more especially in a native State. Every convert, indeed, must expect to undergo persecution in some form or other. The curious part of the affair is, that these so-called persecutions always manage to connect themselves with any little weakness there may be in the joints of the social system. In Chota Nagpore it was the land tenures which somehow or other got mixed up in people's minds with oppression of the new converts. In Travancore the persecution seems to have arisen out of the peculiar harshness of the rules of caste.

The Hindu community in Travancore is divided into four great classes : (1) the Brahmans, who seem to be as influential little Popes as elsewhere ; (2) the Sudras or Nairs, who constitute the middle classes of the population ; (3) the Ilavars, Shánars, &c., or low castes ; and (4) the Pariahs and Pulayars, or slaves. There are two classes of Brahmans—the Nambúris or indigenous, and the foreign Brahmans. The former have a peculiar custom, unde

which, with the view of keeping down their numbers, the eldest son only in the family is allowed to marry. It would appear, however, that those who are debarred from a legitimate union, have no difficulty or scruple in forming temporary connections with Nair women. The Namburis consider it derogatory to live under the sway of a Sudra king, so that those who are found in Travancore are neither numerous nor of the purest blood. The Sudras or Nairs occupy a much higher position in southern than in northern India, partly owing to their numbers and influence, and partly from the fact that there are so many classes beneath them. Their peculiar customs in regard to marriage have long been a subject of interest to Europeans. A Nair woman lives in her brother's house, where she receives the visits of one (or more) husbands. The connection is not a permanent one, but may be dissolved at the option of either party. The woman's children are heirs, not to their father, but to their uncle, who is also their legal guardian. Similar customs obtain amongst the Ilavars and Shanars, from whom the great majority of Christian converts have been drawn. Mr. Mateer says that the rule of inheritance among them is, that ancestral property goes to the nephews by the female line, while self-acquired wealth may be divided between them and the sons.

Most tyrannical rules of caste obtain in regard to the two lowest classes who constitute one-half of the entire Hindu population. One among many of these social laws which served to mark their degradation, forbade any woman below the rank of a Sudra to wear any clothing whatever above the waist.

'But the truer and better instincts of humanity had been aroused by Christianity, and the Christian females were accustomed and taught to wear a kind of plain loose jacket with short sleeves, devised by one of the missionary ladies. This of itself was displeasing to the Sudra aristocracy. And, in addition to the jacket (which is not worn by the Sudra females), some of the Christian women, without the consent of the missionaries, and even in several instances in opposition to their advice, had taken the liberty of wearing an additional cloth or scarf laid over the shoulder, called the "upper cloth," as worn by the Sudra women, and this the latter interpreted as an infringement of their peculiar and exclusive privilege. On the whole, then, it was determined that by some means, or by any means, a stop must be put to the progress of Christianity and to the spread of the reforms and innovations already in progress and impending.'

This was the spark which set the hostile passions of the natives in a blaze. The persecution first broke out in 1827; and its fires smouldered with occasional outbursts of fury till 1858, when various causes combined to incite the upper classes to make common cause against the progress of Christianity. It will be observed that in the extract we have quoted above, Mr. Mateer admits

that the converts were not altogether free from blame. But it would be ridiculous to lay much stress on this circumstance. The conflict between the powers of darkness and the powers of light must have occurred sooner or later. Progress and conservatism are naturally antagonistic; and, all the world over, the civilizing and enlightening influences of Christianity have always excited the rage and hostility of a decaying superstition and a falling priesthood. The only wise policy for a Government to adopt in such a case is that which is pursued by the British Government of allowing free liberty of speech and action, while itself preserving a strict neutrality in all social and religious matters. Unfortunately this was not the course adopted by the bigoted rulers of Travancore. Even now the Shanar women are only permitted to wear a coarse cloth tied horizontally across the bosom, like that worn by Munipuri women; and this scant instalment of justice was only meted out on the receipt of the following strong remonstrance from Sir Charles Trevelyan, then Governor of Madras:—

‘I have seldom met with a case in which not only truth and justice, but every feeling of our common humanity are so entirely on one side. The whole civilized world would cry shame upon us, if we did not make a firm stand on such an occasion. If anything could make this line of conduct more incumbent on us, it would be the extraordinary fact that persecution of a singularly personal and delicate kind is attempted to be justified by a royal proclamation, the special object of which was to assure to Her Majesty’s Indian subjects liberty of thought and action, so long as they did not interfere with the just rights of others. I should fail in respect to Her Majesty, if I attempted to describe the feelings with which she must regard the use made against her own sex of the promises of protection so graciously accorded by her.’

We are glad to see from the above, as well as from a note on page 319, that the Madras authorities are doing their best to instil principles of equality and liberality into the system of government, and so to prevent (if possible) those popular outbreaks, which must always be imminent, so long as such arbitrary and tyrannical rules are allowed to place restrictions on the social independence of the people. It has been frequently observed, and Mr. Mateer himself admits the fact, that Travancore is one of the best governed native States in India. The Dewan, Sir Mádhava Row, K.S.I., was educated at the Madras University, and has raised himself to his present position solely by his eminent talents and and political sagacity.

‘Notwithstanding all that has been accomplished, however, very much yet remains to be effected in the improvement of legislation and the extension of freedom to all classes of the population. Large and liberal measures are still imperatively required for the benefit of the oppressed and down-trodden low castes. These are not, it should

be remembered, in every instance, necessarily poor or destitute of capacity and moral character, in proportion to their position in the arbitrary scale of caste. The masses of the low caste population have been as yet but slightly touched by the partial reforms of the Travancore Government. They ought, for instance, to have a fair share in the scheme of Government education, from which they are at present excluded solely on account of caste. Children of low caste are refused admittance into nearly all the Government English and Vernacular schools, yet these contribute their fair quota to the public funds, which are wasted on Brahmanical rites or expended almost exclusively on the education of the higher castes. Although permission to cover the upper part of the person has been given to the lower castes, they are still by law restricted to the use of *coarse* cloths, to the manifest detriment of the national commerce and manufactures. Any advance, too, in the use of richer ornaments, palankeens, and other luxuries, on the part of wealthy members of these castes, is strictly prohibited. The public roads, also, ought to be opened freely to all classes, and admission to all the Courts conceded to even the lowest and most despised of the population. * * * In short, the half a million low caste people, constituting no less than one-third of the whole population, should be educated, enfranchised, invested with the rights of citizenship, and admitted to the enjoyment of the natural and inalienable rights and liberties which belong to every member of the great human family.'

The Raja of Travancore, as we have already remarked, belongs to the Sudra caste, but by a ceremony called the *Hiranya garbham*, or Golden Birth, he can be translated from his own class, and raised to the position and dignity of a Brahman. "The new birth of the Raja must be either from a golden cow or a lotus flower.* Formerly the form of the sacred cow was made of gold with a hollow body, through which the Raja crept, and was then regarded as twice-born and holy." The late Raja, however, was born from a golden lotus, the gold used being equal to the Raja's own weight, to the value of £6,000. Of course, this gold, as well as all the rich ornaments worn by the Raja on the occasion, had to be given to the priests. The present Raja has already been weighed at a cost of Rs. 1,60,000, but the ceremony of regeneration has still to be performed before his coronation, and will in all probability cost as much more.

Mr. Mateer's book is full of interesting information on all sorts of subjects connected with the people and their customs, or the natural products of Travancore. In connection with the subject of snakes, our author has the following:—

'The serpent is very generally an object of worship to Hindus, especially on the Western coast. Many stone images of the cobra are found in temples and sacred localities. * * The national deity,

* Sacred to Vishnu, the national deity of Travancore.

too, is supposed to recline on a great five-headed serpent. A large brazen-gilt image of the serpent is worshipped at Nágercoil (Snake-temple), and carried out in procession, like other idols, once a year. Brahmans sometimes worship silver representations of Vishnu trampling a serpent under his feet. The cobra is called "nalla pámbu," "the good snake,"—certainly on the principle that it is dreaded and must be propitiated and pacified by gentle words and acts of worship. The account of the origin of this worship given in the "Kerala Ulpatti," is to the effect that in early ages serpents increasing to an insufferable degree, killed many of the people. The surviving inhabitants refused to reside longer in so dangerous a country. Parasu-Rámen, therefore, allotted certain localities in which these reptiles should be placed, and receive offerings and sacrifices. This being done, the serpents were appeased, and ceased to torment the people.

Serpents are now worshipped chiefly by Sudras, Brahmans officiating as their priests. When Sudras observe a snake, they catch it by a cord with a noose tied to the end of a long rod, place it carefully in an earthen pot, and bring it to the place of worship; should they find others killing these sacred reptiles, they earnestly beg for their protection, or lavish abuse on the persons who have committed the sacrilegious act. Offerings of fruits, cakes, flour, milk, rice, &c., are made to the snake god.

No doubt the worship of serpents is similar in principle and is closely connected with the demon-worship of South India. Amongst the Hindus, everything that is specially remarkable, either for good or evil, becomes the object of religious veneration.

Dr. Inman, whose little work on Symbolism we reviewed in our last number, would probably have something to say on this subject, as well as in regard to the symbols exhibited on the copper kásu (or cash) engraved on page 110. "On the obverse of this coin is a figure said to represent the god Krishna; on the reverse, a curious geometrical figure composed of two triangles, to which some notion of sacredness or good luck appears to attach." We are of opinion that Dr. Inman might find much in support of his curious theories in the little kingdom of Travancore.

LA LANGUE ET LA LITTÉRATURE HINDOUSTANIES EN 1870.—*Revue Annuelle* par M. GARCIN DE TASSY, Membre de l'Institut de France, Professeur à l'Ecole Spéciale des Langues Orientales vivantes, etc. Paris. 1871.

M. GARCIN DE TASSY'S annual survey of Hindustani literature has this year been issued under melancholy circumstances. The wonder is that it has been issued at all. We must confess to some little surprise when first it reached us at the beginning of February last, pre-paid with veritable postage stamps of the French Republic. But, though professing to be

published in Paris, it has been printed, we see, at Caen, and we may, therefore, conclude that the worthy Professor is safe, having doubtless chosen the better part of valour.

As a *résumé* of the literary events of the year 1870, the discourse before us is as interesting as usual. It treats (1) of general matters of interest in the world of letters which M. de Tassy represents; (2) of the controversy which is being waged between the supporters of Urdu and the advocates of Hindî; (3) of the additions to Hindustani literature; (4) of the vernacular journalistic press; (5) of the progress of public instruction in India; and, lastly, of the diffusion of Christianity. There is very little under any of these headings that will be new to his readers in this country; but we cannot withhold our admiration of the very complete manner in which these annual reviews are drawn up, and our sense of their great value and interest to European *savans*.

M. de Tassy speaks of the activity of the Mogul Serai Society (one of whose most intelligent members we scarcely recognized in the Professor's *Bâbû Ambika Charan Chitar Jî*) in the direction of widow-marriage. In connection with this subject, it would be very interesting to know to what extent the practice of marrying a deceased husband's brother still exists, as stated by the Professor, among the lowest classes of Hindus.

M. de Tassy's estimate of the effects of Western civilization upon the institution of caste is perhaps a little too sanguine, as may be expected from one who is compelled to form his opinions upon what he hears and reads rather than on what he sees. But the Professor forgets that it is everywhere more difficult to act than to talk, and the natives of India are no exception to this rule. An estimate of the people, framed upon the big words we hear in literary and other debating societies, must necessarily, we fear, be very far wide of the truth.

We are also of opinion that the Professor exaggerates the latent animosity, which, as he asserts, exists between the Musalmans and Hindus. He says, "It is hatred of the Musalman yoke which has so long weighed upon the Hindus, that sets them against Urdu." And in another place:—

'Nous retrouvons donc ici encore l'antagonisme de l'urdu et de l'hindî dans l'antagonisme du savant musulman et du savant hindou, qui ne manque pas de répéter la phrase obligée, qu'on dirait stéréotypée, contre "la tyrannie musulmane sous laquelle les Hindous ont gémi pendant huit cent ans," et qui traite de barbare Mahmûd le Ghaznévide pour d'autres raisons, je suppose, que parce qu'il renversa à Somnâth l'impure idole du lingam.'

There is a touch of incredulous sarcasm, however, in M. de Tassy's assertion that, compared with the Musalman yoke, the Hindus consider the British administration to be perfect.

The Professor treats us to some quaint extracts from the Hindustani papers. One from a Bombay paper on the matrimonial preferences of the fair sex in the various countries of Europe is amusing, though not very complimentary to our American neighbours. Another from the *Núr ul Absár* of Agra

‘attribue les victoires des Allemandes sur les Français à ce qu’ils lisent l’Ecriture sainte, où ils ont trouvé un sortilège emprunté aux védas, dans lesquels le roi Guillaume aurait bien mieux fait, selon le journaliste hindou, d’aller le chercher tout d’abord.’

It is a new idea to connect the piety of the most Christian Emperor with Sanskritic studies in Germany. In the next war of aggression, the writer doubtless expects to see Professor Lassen admitted as a third satellite with Bismarck and Von Moltke in attendance on His Majesty.

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA.—*The Buddhist Period, including the campaigns of Alexander and the travels of Hwen-Thsang.* By ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, Major-General, Royal Engineers. With thirteen Maps. London: Trübner and Co. 1871.

NO work from General Cunningham’s pen needs elaborate introduction to the public in India. On the contrary, many people will think that the apologetic tone in which the author writes towards the close of his preface is hardly necessary. During a long service of more than thirty years in India, General Cunningham tells us, its early history and geography formed the chief study of his leisure hours; and he has certainly not over-stated the signal services which he has rendered to those branches of science during the four years that he was employed by the Government of India as Archæological Surveyor. The intimation that he has again been invited by Government to supervise the archæological researches that are being conducted in this country, has been received with peculiar gratification. It is felt that for once at least, the right man is in the right place. It was quite needless, therefore, for General Cunningham to explain why he comes forward as the exponent of ancient Indian geography. It is rather the critic who ought to show cause for venturing to discuss the opinions of so eminent an authority. This we are not yet prepared to do; and therefore, while expressing our intention to return to the subject at an early date, we shall content ourselves on the present occasion with giving our readers some general idea of General Cunningham’s work.

The General divides the geography of India into three periods—(1) The *Brahmanical* or Vedic, (2) the *Buddhist*, and (3) the *Muhammadian*; and he defines the Buddhist period (which is

his present subject) as extending "from there of Buddha to the conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni, during the greater part of which time Buddhism was the dominant religion of the country." The chief guides in the illustration of this period are the campaigns of Alexander the Great and the travels of the three Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian, Sang-Yun, and Hwen-Thsang.

'The actual campaigns of the Macedonian conqueror were confined to the valley of the Indus and its tributaries; but the information collected by himself and his companions, and by the subsequent embassies and expeditions of the Seleukide kings of Syria, embraced the whole valley of the Ganges on the north, the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula, and some scattered notices of the interior of the country. This information was considerably extended by the systematic enquiries of Ptolemy, whose account is the more valuable, as it belongs to a period just midway between the date of Alexander and that of Hwen-Thsang, at which time the greater part of North-west India had been subjected by the Indo-Scythians.'

It is to the travels of Hwen-Thsang, however, that we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of the geography of India in the Buddhist period. General Cunningham sketches a brief outline of these travels, which for completeness and extent, he says, have never been surpassed.

In one of his very excellent and instructive maps, General Cunningham contrasts the size and shape of the country as described by the earliest authorities. The Greek writers believed India to be a *rhomboid* in shape, and the description drawn up by Eratosthenes from Alexander's papers is not so incorrect as might be supposed. The *Mahābhārata* describes the country as an equilateral triangle, divided into four smaller equilateral triangles. But, according to the more general opinion among the ancient Hindus, and particularly as set forth in the Puranas, India was of the shape of a lotus-flower, Panchāla forming the centre, enclosed by eight other provinces. General Cunningham, however, prefers to take, as a more rational basis for his work, the division of the country into five great provinces, as adopted by the Chinese. These "five Indies," as they were called, *viz.*, *Northern*, *Western*, *Central*, *Eastern* and *Southern* India, comprise the eighty kingdoms into which India was divided in the seventh century of our era. And these kingdoms are successively described by General Cunningham according to their position in the above order of arrangement.

As a specimen of the critical acumen which General Cunningham brings to bear upon his work, we may refer to his remarks upon the vexed question of the situation of the "Ophir" mentioned in the Old Testament. They are to be found on pp. 496—499 of his book, and reference is again made to the subject on pp. 560—562. A very fair history of the discussion

is given in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*; but the writer of that article, though evidently strongly impressed by the arguments in favour of India, is biased, as it seems to us, by the inference which he draws from Genesis x. 29, that the author of that passage believed Ophir to be situated in Arabia. A more general opinion perhaps has sought to identify Ophir with some place in Ceylon or the south of India,—a very strong argument in favour of this view being the fact that the words used in the original for the 'ivory, apes and peacocks,' and 'algum trees,' which Solomon's navy used to bring him, are pure Sanskrit names, with the mere addition of the Hebrew plural. But, says General Cunningham,

'If the fleet of Solomon obtained these Sanskrit names in Ceylon, then we must admit that the Aryan race had pushed their conquests to the extreme south of India, some centuries before the time of Solomon, that is, about 1200 or 1500 B.C. But at this very time, as we learn from their own records, the Aryans had not yet crossed the Narbada, nor even penetrated to the mouth of the Ganges. It does not, therefore, seem possible that any of their names could have been obtained either in Ceylon or in the south of India so early as the time of Solomon. Even according to their own annals, the Ceylonese were barbarians until the landing of Vijaya in B.C. 543; and there is no satisfactory evidence of any Aryan connection or intercourse before the time of Mahendra, the son of Asoka, in B.C. 242.'

General Cunningham's own opinion is, that the Ophir of the Bible, which is always rendered Sôpheir or Sôphir by Josephus and the Septuagint — possibly in deference to the Coptic name of India, which was Sophir—is the *Sauvîra* of Hindu geography or south-western Rajputâna. It would thus lie just to the north of Bhâroch and the Gulf of Khambay, "which from time immemorial has been the chief seat of Indian trade with the West. During the whole period of Greek history, this trade was almost monopolized by the famous city of Barygaza, or Bhâroch, at the mouth of the Narbada river." This position, moreover, agrees with the locality assigned to *Sindhu Sauvîra* by the Hindu geographers. General Cunningham derives the word from the *Vadari* or *Ber-tree* (Jujube); and the transformation of *Sauvîra* into Hofir or Ophir is quite as natural as that of *Sindhu* into Hind or Indus.

'It now remains to show that the district of Vadari or Eder, which I have suggested as the most probable representation of Ophir, has been and still is one of the gold producing countries of the world. The evidence on this point, though meagre, is quite clear. The only ancient testimony which I can produce is that of Pliny, who describes the people dwelling on the other side of Mount Capitalia (or Abu) as possessing "extensive mines of gold and silver." At the present day

the Aravali range is the only part of India in which silver is found in any quantity, while the beds of its torrents still produce gold, of which many fine specimens may be seen in the Indian Museum.'

Lassen and Ritter would fix the site of Ophir at the mouth of the Indus, that is, at some distance north-east of that suggested by General Cunningham; but, whatever may be the exact site, the combination of such a weight of authority ought, we think, to settle the question, so far as it lies between Arabia or Africa and India.

A STUDENT'S MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA, *from the earliest period to the present.* By MEADOWS TAYLOR, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., M.R.I.A., &c. Author of 'Confessions of a Thug,' 'Tara,' etc. etc. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1870.

WE can scarcely speak too highly of this useful volume. In some 800 pages of clear readable type, the author has contrived to give us a tolerably fair summary of all that is known of the history of India, from the most ancient times up to the vice-royalty of Lord Mayo. The summary, however, is not a mere abstract, but a continuous narrative written in a pleasant flowing style. It is illustrated by maps of India, Afghanistan and the Punjab, and plans of Baillie's defeat and the battle of Assaye. To the History is appended an excellent index, occupying 84 pages of small type.

Colonel Meadows Taylor prefaces his work with a brief description of the people of India, and, though we are not prepared to admit all his statements, the unrivalled opportunities which he had in this country of seeing and mixing with the natives undoubtedly give special value to this portion of his work. The characteristics of the people, their food, costume, amusements and occupations, the system of caste and the elements of the Hindu religion—are described in a manner which cannot fail to interest the student in the country, of which he is about to read. The chapters on the Aryan conquest, and the rise and decline of Buddhism, not only form a novel feature in histories of India, but are written in as clear and intelligent a manner as the imperfect knowledge at our disposal will admit.

The religious beliefs of any people have a peculiar interest in the present day, and Colonel Meadows Taylor's remarks on the religion of the Hindus are worth consideration. After pointing out what an essentially religious people the Hindus are, he goes on to describe the basis upon which their beliefs and practices rest.

'They are based upon faith, which as the main doctrine of their religion, is the motive from which their practical religion springs. It does not concern them that the lives of the gods they believe in, as

represented in the Puranas and other popular scriptures, are cruel, capricious, immoral, or, on the other hand, benevolent ; or that the legends regarding them are filled with events which are utterly incredible or absurd. It is enough that the gods are believed to be as they are represented ; that their actions cannot be tried by human standards, and that they have the power and the will to grant what is besought of them. Absolute unconditional faith in them rises superior to all objections or impossibilities ; reverence, even amounting to childish credulity, holds the believer in thrall, and a practical devotion follows, which is the habitual condition of mind in which the devout Hindoo desires to live. In the new system of doctrine promulgated by the Brahmins on the resuscitation of Hindooism and the decline of Booddhism, the quickening influence of faith was undoubtedly the most important. The new doctrines are founded on the tenets of the Vedas, but are simplified and purged from metaphysical subtleties, which had become, under these great amplifications, incomprehensible by the ordinary masses of the people, and the discussions on which are confined to the Brahmins themselves. Faith in the mercy or power of God, or of any divinity, male or female, as part of the divine principle or essence, efficacious to hear and grant prayer ; the assurance that prayer addressed would be heard by one who had sympathies with human life and its needs, was a doctrine which accorded with the cravings of human souls, entered into their daily lives and became part of their being. No matter who, of the whole Pantheon, might be adopted as the tutelary divinity of the man and of his family, to that being they gave unreserved faith, and through all vicissitudes, he or she, as it might be, became the object of adoration and of confidence.'

Next to faith, the writer goes on to observe, good works have a large part in the every-day religion of Hindu life. Nor are the consequences of sin overlooked.

'Here, however, the religion of the people falls into caste discipline, which is a more direct and efficient means of preserving general Hindoo morality than is religion in the abstract, as indeed has been previously explained. Without the restrictions of caste, it will be admitted that the religion of faith alone, earnest and vivid as it may be, would prove a weak defence against immorality of all kinds ; and it is under the joint action of the two, strengthening and supporting each other, that the Hindoos have not only preserved both, but that there is a vitality in them at present which at no period of Hindoo history would seem to have been exceeded.'

There is much to provoke controversy in these extracts. In the first place, some may be inclined to question whether either the Hindu religion or the system of caste in the present day does possess that vitality which is here attributed to it. In many parts of the country there is no doubt that the foundations of both the one and the other have long ago been sapped, and that their continued existence is not so much due to any inherent force of their own, as to the influence of that conservatism

which is nowhere so powerful as in India. It is quite possible again that some may object to the statement that a religion of faith can have no force unless allied with a caste-system. Such a statement is at least equivalent to an admission that the faith which is attributed to the Hindu is not such a living faith as inspired the early Christian Church, but a mere mass of credulity and superstition which draws what life it has, not from any inherent principles, but externally from immemorial custom and tradition. We must also take objection to the doubt expressed, whether Christianity has ever proved itself able to dispell, or in any way affect, the Shakti superstitions,—a term by which Colonel Taylor seems to understand the worship of devils, serpents and other malignant deities. A few pages further on, Colonel Taylor himself admits that it is among the tribes who practise this kind of worship, that the Christian faith has made the most remarkable progress.

Neither is Colonel Meadows Taylor so happy as elsewhere, in his chapter on the condition of India before the invasion of the Aryans. Here he feels it incumbent upon him to say something fine about Negritos and Turanians, and falling into the pitfall which is prepared for those who talk about what they do not rightly understand, he flounders about in hopeless confusion. The ancient tribes of India, we are told, "are now generally classed as Turanian, and belong to a very large section of one of the most ancient people on the earth, who inhabited India, the Eastern and part of the Pacific Islands, and Australia. They have also been termed Negritós, because of certain points of similarity with the negroes of Africa." Further on we read of 'Turanian Negritós,' though we are not told what the Aryan or Semitic Negritós are like. Some of the sub-Himalayan tribes, it is stated, "have become intermixed with Mongolians; but by far the greater number are Turanians or Negritós, and they extend till they meet with the Shans, Karens and Burmese." By the way, can the Garrows, Kacharis, Kookies or Lushais, be strictly classed as sub-Himalayan tribes?

Hints towards a reconstruction of the Educational Department, N. W. P. Re-printed, with additions, from the *Pioneer* of August 1870.

THIS collection of papers carries with it all the weight which is derived from the fact that it received its first *imprimatur* from the editorial chair of an 'inspired' journal. It displays such an extensive and intimate acquaintance with the working of the educational system of the North-West as to demonstrate the professional or official connection of the writer with that work; when we add that it blames the Government for allowing

so much of the grant-in-aid money to find its way into Missionary coffers, and that it endeavours to prove that Agra should be the *omphalos* of the learning of the Upper Provinces, we think we have nearly succeeded in piercing, *pro hac vice*, that cloud of obscurity and journalistic impersonality against which the Positivists have lately been preaching a crusade.

Some of the propositions made by the writer seem almost startling, when we remember the oracular character of the journal in which they first appeared. They are thoroughly radical; and are put forward with much of that audacity and of that disregard for minor consequences, which are usually characteristic of the suggestions of irresponsible amateur politicians. The pamphleteer wishes to increase the efficiency, and to effect a small saving in the administration of higher education, by concentrating all the English professional teaching-power at one great central college, which should be placed at Agra. He would abolish all the other colleges of the province, with the exception of Benares, where he would retain a small staff for conducting purely Oriental studies. According to his own showing, the saving would be infinitesimal, and it would probably disappear altogether when provision had been made for a Sanskrit chair at his proposed central college—an obvious necessity in any institution affiliated to the Calcutta University, but one which has apparently escaped his notice. It is undoubtedly true that the possession of one large and fully-officered college, like the Presidency at Calcutta, is almost a *sine quâ non* for the encouragement of the very highest scholarship, like that demanded in the M.A. and Honor Examinations of the University; but such scholarship is an expensive luxury, and high education in the North-West does not seem to have as yet reached such a stage as to make it in any way a necessity. On the other hand, the abolition of the mofussil colleges would inflict a fatal blow on the cause of high education, and therefore of civilisation, in the districts so deprived of intellectual light. We say *deprived* advisedly, for very few of the students who come to the fore in the local colleges, would have so much enterprise, and at the same time so much wealth, as to be both able and willing to undergo a long and expensive sojourn in a remote seminary for the sake of learning.

The most important, and we think the most objectionable, point in the proposed reconstruction, is the change in the inspecting agency. The writer would abolish the present highly paid and responsible class of Inspectors of Schools; and also, in name at least, the class of Deputy Inspectors. In reality, however, the latter class is retained by him under the name of Inspectors, who are to be very numerous and restricted to the actual work of inspection. He proposes to pay them Rs. 300, instead of the Rs. 125 which the present

Deputy Inspectors draw ; and he thinks that " Europeans brought up in this country," as well as " the more intelligent " of the natives whom we have moulded according " to our own system," would be found extremely eligible for this service. All executive work, and as much of the responsibility as possible, would be transferred from the Inspectors to the local committees and the civil district officers. The tendency of such a system would obviously be to make the new Inspectors identical in point of duties and position with the present Deputy Inspectors, whilst the function of the present Inspectors would be simply transferred to the shoulders of unpaid and therefore careless committees, or of magistrates and joint-magistrates who have already more work on their hands than they know how to get through.

A BRIEF VIEW OF POSITIVISM. *Compiled from the works of Auguste Comte, by S. LOBB, M.A., Calcutta : Thacker, Spink and Co. 1871.*

THE Calcutta public have lately heard so much of Positivism and its able supporters on this side of India, that we dare not venture to enter the lists again at present with Messrs. Lobb, Cotton, or any other of the humble followers of the illustrious philosopher. In fact, these friends of Humanity are becoming a bore. We must confess that whenever we meet a Positivist now-a-days, our feelings are somewhat akin to those of Canning's

Knife-grinder.

"I should be glad to drink your honour's health in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence ;
But for my part I never love to meddle
With politics, Sir."

Friend of Humanity.

"I give the six-pence ! I'll see that d——d first ;
Wretch whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance,
Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded,
Spiritless outcast !"

[Kicks the Knife-grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy.]

The following books have reached us too late for notice in the present number.

MEMOIR OF GEORGE EDWARD LYNCH COTTON, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan. *With Selections from his journals and correspondence.* Edited by Mrs. Cotton. London : Longmans Green & Co. 1871.

MANUAL OF COORG. *A Gazetteer of the natural features of the country and the social and political features of its inhabitants.* Compiled by Rev. G. Richter, Principal, Government Central School, Mercara, and Inspector of the Coorg Schools. (With a map and four illustrations.) Mangalore. Published by C. Stolz, Basel Mission Book Repository. 1870.

NEW EXPOSITION OF THE SCIENCE OF KNOWLEDGE. By J. G. Fichte. Translated from the German by A. E. Kroeger. St Louis, Mo. 1869.

Among the official publications which we have received during the quarter, we may prominently note the following :—

Administration Report by the Resident at Hyderabad ; including a report on the administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for the year 1869-70. By Charles B. Saunders, Esq., C.B., Bengal Civil Service, Resident at Hyderabad. Hyderabad, 1870.

Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, P.W.D. Irrigation Branch, No. I. Papers from 1866 to 1870 regarding the Damoodah Canal Project.

BENGALI BOOKS.

Krishidarpan. Part II. By Hari Mohan Mukhopádhyáy. Calcutta : Hitaishi Press. B. E. 1277.

THIS is the second part of what the author calls the *Mirror of Agriculture*, though the book is, properly speaking, a *Mirror of Arboriculture*, for it does not treat of the cultivation of paddy and other grains, but of the planting of trees in a garden. The first part, which was published some time since, treated chiefly of grafting ; the present volume speaks of the transplantation of trees and of the methods of improving them. The writer is not unacquainted with works on horticulture written in the English language ; but he also furnishes us with much original information derived from his own experience. Babu Hari Mohan Mukhopádhyáy deserves great praise for writing on so practical and useful a subject, instead of wasting his powers on some silly tale or the perpetration of poetry. We trust the book will create in native gentlemen a taste for the elegant pursuits of gardening.

Sakti Sambhava. An epic poem. By Bihari Lal Bandyopádhyáy. Calcutta : Hitaishi Press. B. E. 1277.

BABU Bihari Lal Banerjea is evidently not a 'born poet' and it is no use fighting against nature. Every good thing contained in the volume has been stolen from the *Tilottamá Sambhava*. If the writer were to take to prose, he might produce something worth reading.

Svabháva-Sikshá. Instructions from Nature. Part I. By Chandra Nath Sarmá. Serampore : Tamabar Press. 1870.

HERE is another little volume of verses—of inferior merit, if possible, to the preceding ; the only redeeming feature being its brevity.

Satranja-Sukhságar. Part I. By Brahmánanda Chattopadhyáy. Calcutta : Vidyaratna Press. 1871.

THIS *Happy Ocean of Chess* will be useful to those Babus who wish to be initiated into the mysteries of that royal game. Though the book gives directions regarding the native method of chess-playing, our Bengali Staunton is not ignorant of the English and Persian modes.

Padyamálá. Part I. By Man Mohan Basu. Calcutta : Stanhope Press. 1870.

AS a poetical reading book for little boys in vernacular schools, this performance is not without merit. Both the matter and the manner are suited to the capacities of little children.

Hitasikshá, or Useful Instructions. Part IV. By Gopal Chandra Bandyopadhyáy, Head Master, Calcutta Normal School. Calcutta : Hitaishi Press. B. E. 1276.

THIS is a school book of considerable merit. Amongst other useful subjects, it contains well-written memoirs of David Hare, and the late Hon'ble Sambhunath Pundit of the Calcutta High Court.

Párvati-Parinay. A Drama. By Giris Chandra Chudamani. Calcutta : Sanskrit Press. 1277.

THE subject of Kalidasa's celebrated poem, the *Kumara-Sambhava*, is not badly dramatized in this volume. The play is dedicated by the author to Raja Satyánand Ghosal of Bhukailás. Playing upon the name of the Raja's residence, the writer styles him "the self-existent Lord of Kailás." The force of flattery can no further go.

Kavi-Kalpa. Part I. By Harinath Majumdár. Calcutta : Giris-vidyaratna Press. B. E. 1277.

IN this book are contained metrical versions of some stories of Hindu mythology, like Daksha's sacrifice, the story of Narada, the story of Akrura, the death of Kansa, &c. &c. The versification is not altogether destitute of merit.

Kavitābali. By Hem Chandra Bandyopādhyay. Calcutta : Stanhope Press. B. E. 1277.

THESE poetical pieces are amongst the best specimens of Bengali poetry we have recently seen. The versification is nearly faultless, the sentiments are not always common-place, and the imagery shows good taste in the writer. The volume is a reprint of pieces which appeared first in the columns of the *Education Gazette* and the *Abodha-Bandhu*. The first piece, a ballad entitled "Indra's Potation," is in our opinion the best.

Utkarsha-vidhāna. By Girīśchandra Vidyāratna. Calcutta : Girisvidyāratna Press. B. E. 1277.

Kumāra Sikshā. By Becharam Chattopadhyāy. Bhowanipore : Sāptāhika Press. Sakābda. 1792.

THESE two little books are intended to be used as school-books, and treat of a variety of subjects interesting to boys and girls. The style of both is unexceptionable.

Rājābālā. By Rāj Krishna Mukhopādhyāy. Calcutta : J. G. Chatterjea & Co's Press. B. E. 1277.

THIS is a historical romance, founded on recollections connected with the village of Gosvāmi-Durgāpur, on the banks of the Kumara, about four miles from the station of Alamdanga on the Eastern Bengal Railway. The story is well conceived and well told. We have no doubt the performance will add to the author's reputation as a good Bengali writer.

Abhedī. By Tekchānd Thākur. First Edition. Calcutta : Suchāru Press. 1871.

AS we have remarked elsewhere, this novel is hardly worthy of the author of *A'laler Gharer Dulāl*. Tekchand's first work is as yet his best. His subsequent tales show either a want of industry or a decay of mental power, or both. The promise which his first work gave has not been realized.

The *Abhedī*, as a story, is unreadable. One Anveshan Chandra sets out on an expedition in search of *truth*. All at once he finds himself in a dense forest, where he meets with a shooting party, composed of two military gentlemen, a clergyman or missionary, and a band of savage hill-men. The hill-men show such courage in closing upon the tiger, that the enquirer is struck with admiration of them, goes up to their hills, spends a night with them, and talks to them on religious subjects. He proceeds on his journey, sees a Hindu widow burn herself on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband, admires her courage and religious

earnestness, and draws from the scene the inference that the soul must be distinct from the body! In the course of his peregrinations he visits various places where he meets with various sorts of people, with whom he holds religious conferences, and from whom he tries to draw out all the good they have. At last he meets with a man of the name of *Abhedī*, or the Unsectarian, who opens the eyes of his understanding, solves his doubts, and teaches him the *truth*. What that truth is, is more than we can tell;—for the whole thing is represented in so shadowy and obscure a manner that it is difficult to apprehend it. Thus much, however, may be gathered that, in our author's opinion, all faith, whether idolatrous, polytheistic or monotheistic, is salutary, and that the essence of religion consists in the subjugation of the passions. The book is neither a novel nor a moral essay. It has the faults of both species of composition, without any of the redeeming qualities of either. By the way, why does the author say in the title-page that it is the 'first edition' of the work? Is he quite sure that a second will be called for?

Kāvya Chandrika. By Isān Chandra Vidyāvāgis. Berhampore : Satyaratna Press. Samvat 1930.

THIS is a Bengali translation of a small Sanskrit book called *Kāvya Chandrikā* or the Moonlight of Poesy, together with a commentary which is also translated into Bengali. So far as we have seen, the translation seems to be good and the comments just.

Sāktisēla. Part I. By Yasódananda Sarkār. Calcutta : B. P. M's Press. B. E. 1277.

THIS is a poetical version, both in rhyme and in blank verse, of a pathetic incident which occurred in the war between Rāma and Ravana, as described in the *Rāmāyana*. In our opinion, the vigorous lines in which the incident is briefly described by old Vālmīki himself are infinitely preferable to the dull and tasteless amplification of his Bengali paraphrast.

Srigovindamangal. By Syām Dās Dās. Calcutta : N. L. Seal's Press. Sakābdā 1792.

FEW books have exercised greater influence on the popular faith in India than the great Purāna called the *Srimat-Bhāgavat*; we are therefore thankful to our author for translating into Bengali the first twelve *skandhas* of that immortal work. But we cannot help regarding it as a pity that he has translated it into verse instead of into prose, as the latter form would have given us a more faithful representation of the original.

Bhāratavarshiya Upāsaka-sampradāy. The religious sects of the Hindus. By Akshay Kumar Datta. Part I. Calcutta : Sanskrit Press. B. E. 1277.

THIS is a very valuable work, both as to matter and manner. It treats of the peculiarities of the thousand and one sects of religion that are to be found in all parts of India. Some of the information contained in the volume is doubtless to be found in Professor H. H. Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus* ; but it contains also a good deal of original information, chiefly regarding the minor religious sectaries in Bengal. The body of the work appeared twenty-two years ago, from time to time, as articles in the *Tattva Bodhini Patrikā*, of which the gifted author was the Editor. But the work before us is not merely a reprint. It contains an admirably written Prolegomena, one hundred and six pages long, in which the author gives a *résumé* of the results of the labours of H. H. Wilson, Martin Haug, Theodore Goldstücker and Max Müller in the field of Vedic literature. With regard to the style of composition, it is remarkably clear and elegant, the author having been regarded for a long time as one of the best Bengali writers of the day. We hope the second part will be published without delay.

f